The Beaver

AUTUMN 1973

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Hudson's Bay Company

INCORPORATED 2ND MAY 1670

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Heavily tattooed Saga Yean Qua Prab Ton, King of the Maquas, known as Brant, grandfather of the renowned Mohawk leader Joseph Brant. The bear beside him denotes his clan.

FOUR KINGS
Came to Dinner With Their Honours

BY MALVINA BOLUS

AT A COMMITTEE MEETING of the Hudson's Bay Company in London on 3 May 1710 the Secretary was ordered to pay 'To Puntack his Bill for a Dinner & Wine to Entertaine the 4 Indian Kings £7:12:—'.

It is not known how many people attended the dinner at the House in Fenchurch Street. The amount may not seem very large, but it would go a long way in the reign of Queen Anne when an evening at an entertainment club with drinking might cost one shilling, meat was two to three pence a pound, enough gin to get drunk on was one penny, and wages of workmen might be between six and eight shillings a week.

It is known who the guests of honour were: Four Kings they were called by the English. To the dignitaries (Colonels Peter Schuyler and Francis Nicholson, with Captain Abraham Schuyler as interpreter) who escorted the Iroquois from the Mohawk Valley they were more likely Sachems or Chiefs of the Five Nations Confederacy. The clumsy names by which they were known on their visit, with many variations in spelling, were Te Ye Neen Ho Ga Prow of the Wolf clan or totem (christianized to the simpler form of Hendrick), the most important chief, designated 'Emperor of the Six Nations'; Saga Yean Qua Prab Ton of the Bear clan (Brant), 'King of the Maquas'; Oh Nee Yeath Ton No Prow of the Wolf clan (John), 'King of the Ganajoh-Hore'; and Elow Ob Kaom or E Tow Oh Koam of the Tortoise clan (Nicholas), 'King of the River Nation'. Their hosts may well have been the whole Board of the Hudson's Bay Company who numbered nine including the Governor, Sir Stephen Evance, who was the banker of the Company, and Deputy Governor John Nicholson, a fur merchant. In extending the invitation it had been agreed on 26 April 'that the whole Committe waite on Govr. Nicholson To Morrow Morning, In order to goe with him to the foure Indian Princes & know of them when they will be at Leisure to be entertained at Dinner by the Company'. The Kings had little leisure and the day they chose is uncertain; their schedule during the visit to England was comparable to a modern Royal Tour.

They had arrived at Portsmouth the second week in April aboard the naval ship *Reserve*, then travelled by coach to London. There they were given apartments in the 'Two Crowns and Cushions' near Covent Garden, the

The portraits of the Four Kings by Verelst hang today at Writtle Park, home of the Honourable John Petre, near Chelmsford, Essex, and are reproduced here with his kind permission. The Verelst portraits were commissioned by Queen Anne and were executed in 1710.

Quotations from the H B C archives are made by permission of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The author, Malvina Bolus, is the former editor of The Beaver.

fine house of Thomas Arne, an upholsterer, where gentlemen lodged. Then they were taken to a tailor to be outfitted in manner seemly for a royal presentation. As there was court mourning for the Queen's consort, Prince George, the garments worn over their white shifts were black waistcoat, breeches, and stockings, but each had a scarlet cloak. A ballad of the time describes:

Four Monarchs of Worth,
From their Kingdoms set forth,
Without Hose or Shoes to their Feet.

The Sachems were impressive figures, referred to in a contemporary publication as 'Men of good Presence, and those who have convers'd with them, say, That they have an exquisite Sense, and a quick Apprehension'. They were described as 'well form'd . . . all within an Inch or two of six Foot; their Habits are robust, and their Limbs muscular and well shap'd; they are of brown Complexions, their Hair black and long, their Visages are very awful and majestick, and their Features regular enough, though something of the austere and sullen'. The pamphleteer continued his impressions: 'They are generally affable to all that come to see them, and will not refuse a Glass of Brandy or strong Liquors from any hands that offer it. They never sit on Chairs or Benches, but on their Heels, which makes their Knees, when they stand upright, bag out before. They feed heartily, and love our *English* Beef before all other Victuals that are provided for 'em; of which they have Variety at the Charge of the Publick, with the best of Wines; but they seem to relish our fine pale Ales before the best *French* Wines'. He comments that they do not suffer from their current voluptuous living as their hosts sometimes do 'and notwithstanding their Intemperance here, they are not feverish upon any occasion, or troubl'd with Loss of Appetite'.

Now appropriately housed and clothed, it was time for the Sachems to fulfil the purpose of their visit. Since the beginning of the century the English and French had been at war over the Spanish Succession – Queen Anne's War it was called in America. Around Hudson Bay there had long been forays; in the strife between the French in Canada or New France and the English in the American colonies the aid of the Indians had been enlisted. Support for England came from the Indians of the Mohawk Valley. The Mohawk River flowed eastward into the Hudson, south of Lake Champlain and north of Albany, New York, which was the direct water-level route from the St Lawrence to New England. The Iroquois of the Five Nations Confederacy dominated the stretch of country between the St Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and New York and were therefore in a commanding position. The colonists needed more help from England and the visit was intended to bolster Iroquois friendship and to encourage support of the British government for the efforts being made in North America.

On Wednesday the 19th of April two of the Queen's coaches bore through the streets of London to St

The Verelst portrait of Oh Nee Yeath Ton No Prow, christianized to John, King of the Ganajoh-Hore, with the wolf of his clan. Each 'King' holds a different weapon.

James's Palace four Indian 'Kings'. Accompanying them were the Queen's Master of Ceremonies, Colonels Peter Schuyler and Francis Nicholson, Abraham Schuyler, brother of the Colonel, and Major David Pigeon, also from America. Colonel Schuyler had been the first mayor of Albany, New York, and was on excellent terms with the Indians, having served a long time on the board of Indian commissioners; Colonel Nicholson, later governor of Nova Scotia, was commander of the land forces in upper New York. At the audience the Kings were ceremonially introduced to Her Majesty by the Lord Chamberlain. Gifts of wampum were presented and a speech made to Queen Anne through the interpreter Captain Schuyler, which was read to the Queen in English by Major Pigeon.

'Great Queen,' they began 'We have undertaken a long and tedious Voyage, which none of our Predecessors could ever be prevail'd upon to undertake. The Motive that induc'd us, was, that we might see our *Great Queen*, and relate to her those Things we thought absolutely necessary for the Good of her, and us her Allies, on the other side of the great Water. We doubt

Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row.
Emperour of the six Nations.
Sa Ga Yean Qua Rah Tow.
King of the Maquas.
Oh Nic Yeath Tow No Row.
King of Canajoh Hore.
E Tow Oh Kaom.
King of the River Nation.
The Four Indian Kings.
Done after the Original Limnings
Drawn from the Life by B. Lens junr.
B. Lens exc.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Bernard Lens senior reproduced on one sheet, mezzotints of the miniatures on ivory of the Four Kings 'drawn from the Life' by his son.

not but our *Great Queen* has been acquainted with our long and tedious War, in Conjunction with her Children . . . against her Enemies the *French*; and that we have been as a strong wall for their Security, even to the Loss of our best Men. . . . And in Token of our Friendship, we hung up the *Kettle*, and took up the *Hatchet*.' They were disappointed that no ships had come from England to attack Quebec nor support for their proposed overland expedition to Montreal with Schuyler and Nicholson. The 'Reduction of Canada' and subsequent free hunting and trade was of such importance that if help were not forthcoming they would have to leave their country or 'stand neuter; either of which will be much against our Inclinations'. Their alliance had brought them some knowledge of Christianity and if the Queen would 'send over some Persons to instruct us, they shall find a most hearty Welcome'.

The Queen instructed that gifts be made to the Indians and that they be entertained at her charge. The request for missionaries she passed on to the Archbishop of Canterbury who was president of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Following the audience, the time of the Sachems was fully taken up with sight-seeing and lavish entertainment. One would like to know what impressions they received. Much of London had been rebuilt since the Great Fire, but the streets were narrow, lined with closely packed tall houses, and crowded with people and carriages and sedan chairs. 'We often saw young lusty raw-boned Fellows carried up and down the Streets in little covered Rooms by a Couple of Porters' was the way Addison purported to interpret their views about the idleness of the men.

The Kings became such popular favourites that mobs followed them about and they were the subject of ballads and broadsheets.

A lengthy pamphlet about the customs and country of these visitors provided the populace with some rather curious misinformation as well as much that was reliable. As to their country: it was discovered by the Spaniards 'but having found nothing considerable in it, they abandon'd the Country, and call'd it *il Capo di Nada*, that is, a Cape of nothing. Hence, by Corruption, sprung the Word *Canada*.' Part of this vast country was now called *New France* but the part described is 'the two *Maqua's*, and the Kingdoms of the River *Sachem* and *Ganajohhore*, seated between the Lake of *Hurons* on one side, *Virginia*, *Carolina*, *New England*, and *New France* on the others. The River *Canada* . . . or *St Lawrence* runs quite through the Country'. This river was 'extraordinary full of Fish' a remarkable species 'having Heads resembling the Heads of Hares, and Bodies as white as Snow.' Following a fairly accurate description of the country's hills and trees and streams, vines and corn, animals, and long snowy winters, another peculiar fish appears: 'on a branch of the River Canada, is the Lake *de Chaplain*, grown round about with Chesnut-Trees, in which breeds the strange Fish call'd *Chaosarou*, generally ten Foot long, with Heads like Sharks, and two Rows of Teeth in their Mouths, their Skins full of strong Scales, which are sufficient Shields against Swords and Lances. They are great Devourers of other Fish and Fowl, which they take after this Manner, *viz*. They swim amongst Reeds of Canes, and lie still with their mouths open, which the Birds sitting upon are immediately swallow'd.'

Authentic descriptions of wigwams were interspersed with legends of creation and the flood; the practices of medicine men. A good characteristic of the people was their tolerance, even though it hindered the spread of Christianity; on the other hand, they were 'natural Gluttons, and know no other Happiness in this Life, but the Pleasure of Eating and Drinking', even to the feasts called *'Eat-up-all'*, using platters of wood or birch bark which they never wash. Marriage customs were fairly accurate, but warriors under 30 years old who took women were 'despis'd as effeminate Persons' because this weakened them. Knowledge of herbal remedies was acknowledged, as well as use of bear's grease as an ointment, and use of the sweat bath. But, they are so hardy that the children, in the depth of winter 'run stark Naked thro' the Snow, and tumble about in it as Hogs wallow in the Dirt in Summer Time: when the Air is fill'd with Biting-Flies, they don't feel their Stinging.' Women were even more robust than the men, serving for porters, carrying packs that two or three European men could hardly lift. There were details of dress, and war-paint of red or black on the men's faces was 'that their Enemies may not perceive they turn pale with Fear'. There were reports of gambling games, methods of warfare, and peace by the calumet.

To carry out a death sentence, the executioner was made drunk with brandy, to explain that the killing was done while he was 'Mad and Drunk' so that the kin of the criminal would not seek to avenge the death. Methods of hunting were well described: trapping of beavers in nets and deadfalls, and shooting of bears. With wild-cats (lynx) and porcupines they 'fell the Tree they are upon'; dogs kill the former, men with hatchet or fork, the latter. There were detailed descriptions of fishing by torchlight for eels, with reference to the *St Lawrence* or *Canada* River receiving fresh water from the four great lakes: 'This great Deluge of Water tumbling furiously over the greatest and most dreadful Heap in the World'.

The pamphlet concludes by pointing out the advantages of colonizing this country rich in fish, furs, timber, and minerals, which could be done with alliances 'such as are now offer'd to this Kingdom by the Savage Kings of that Country'.

Among the sights shown to the Sachems were London's many shops, the finest in Europe with their large glass windows displaying a variety of goods, where the fashionable browsed at length; the only bridge across the Thames, London Bridge, with its double row of houses

Elow Ob Kaom, King of the River Nation, known as Nicholas, painted by Verelst, with his clan tortoise.

and places of trade, and decorative old Elizabethan Nonsuch House; Leadenhall Market with vendors of meat, poultry and fish; the Tower with the Royal Arsenal; the Exchange and Guildhall. They were invited to cock-fights, wrestling matches, bear-fights, and a number of theatrical performances including opera and Punch and Judy. Their presence was advertised as a lure to the public though they could not have attended all these shows. One theatre they definitely visited was in the Haymarket, on 24 April, when a performance of *Macbeth*, with flying witches, must have given them some cause for wonder. The interest of the mob, however, was in seeing 'the swarthy monarchs' and they held up the play until the three Kings (one was ill and could not come) were brought up to the stage. Seated on chairs (for with native courtesy they would undoubtedly conform to local custom wherever they went) behind the candle foot-lights they sat through the play and were addressed in a special epilogue which ran in part:

> So now Great *Anna's* most Auspicious Reign,
> Not only makes one Soveraign [sic] cross the Main;
> . . . But wing'd by Her Example urges Four,
> To seek Protection on *Britannia's* Shore.
> . . . O, Princes, who have with amazement seen
> So good, so gracious and so great a Queen;
> Who from her royal mouth have heard your doom
> Secured against the threat of France and Rome;
> Awhile some moments on our scenes bestow . . .

During the previous week the Sachems had dined at the Duke of Ormonde's country seat near Richmond; had spent a day going by royal barge to Greenwich to visit the house of the Astronomer Royal, Greenwich Hospital, and Woolwich docks, following which they were 'nobly treated by some of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty' in one of the Queen's yachts; had visited the banqueting hall and chapel, all that remained of the Palace of Whitehall.

At some time they visited St Paul's which was not far from their lodging, inspecting the dome above and below. The cathedral was only finished that year and they may even have met its architect, Sir Christopher Wren, then 78, in his great church. In *The Spectator* a year later Addison published a paper purporting to have been written by Saga Yean Qua Prab Ton and left behind at the Two Crowns and Cushions, then translated, in which the following comments are made: 'On the most rising Part of the Town there stands a huge House, big enough to contain the whole Nation of which I am King. . . . they give it the Name of a Temple, and have a Tradition that it was designed for Men to pay their Devotions in. . . . But upon my going into one of these holy Houses on that Day [the seventh day], I could not observe any Circumstance of Devotion in their Behaviour: There was indeed a Man in Black who was mounted above the rest, and seemed to utter something with a great deal of Vehemence; but as for those underneath him, instead of paying Worship to the Deity of the Place, they were most of them bowing and curtisying [sic] to one another, and a considerable Number of them fast asleep.'

The week following their stage appearance with *Macbeth* was filled with engagements, of which some of the dates are known. On 25 April they called on the Duke of Ormonde and later appeared before the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, who promised them assistance. The next day they reviewed the Life Guards in Hyde Park. The following evening they supped at the Sun Tavern. Undoubtedly they visited other taverns and coffee houses for these were the meeting places for pleasure and gossip, and for the conduct of business. Important among them was Thomas Garraway's – the first to introduce tea to its patrons – which was frequented by people of quality and where merchants gathered and auctions were held. On 28 April Colonel Nicholson introduced the Sachems to the Board of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, of which he was a member. The Bishop of Norwich informed them of the resolutions taken by the Society: among them, sending two missionaries, constructing a chapel and a fort for their defence, promotion of the study of English by Indian children and the Indian language by English youth, restriction of

intoxicating liquors (which the Sachems had requested). The Sachems expressed their pleasure and undertook to take care of the missionaries. The same day they were 'treated very splendidly' by the New England and New York merchants, and some time during that busy day they went to see the workhouse in Bishopsgate, and Bethlehem Hospital (usually called Bedlam, where lunatics were kept and exhibited to the public like animals in a zoo).

On the 29th the Sachems were invited to attend a cock-fight and that day they were entertained to dinner by William Penn at The Devil. This was a tavern patronized by literary men, including Dr Johnson. The next day, Sunday, they attended the service at St James's Chapel. The sermon was preached by the Bishop of London who afterwards provided the visitors with a splendid dinner. They then went to see the palatial house of the Duke of Montague. Their 'last Appearance in Publick' was advertised for a Consort of music on the 1st. On 2 May they were painted in miniature on ivory by Bernard Lens 'from the life'. Next day they went by barge to Sion House and thence to see the palaces at Hampton Court and Windsor, and on the 4th they finally left London by coach for Portsmouth.

At some time in these crowded days they sat to John Verelst for portraits that were commissioned by the Queen, which were hung in Kensington Palace where Queen Anne lived much of the time; they were invited to supper by the Blue Coat Boys of Christ's Hospital, boys who had furnished a number of recruits for the Hudson's Bay Company; and they had accepted the invitation of the latter Company to dinner.

Among fashionable people, dinner began between 3 o'clock and 5 o'clock, at tables set with white linen cloths, sparkling plates, and cutlery changed with each course, to the amazement of foreigners. The meal would have several courses. A good supper at a coaching inn some years later, which cost sixpence, consisted of veal cutlets, pigeons, asparagus, lamb and salad, apple pie and tarts. At formal dinners there would be other delicacies such as oysters, partridges, roast swan, and cheeses. The dress of the men would be as elaborate as the dinner: coats of brocades and satins with silver or gold trimmings, ruffled shirts, velvet breeches, silk stockings, and fancy wigs, for wigs were always worn by men of fashion.

What Puntack served at the H B C dinner is not known but the Sachems were honoured guests and the fare would be lavish.

Though not directly concerned with the territory and objectives of the Sachems, the Hudson's Bay Company as adventurers in North America and opponents of French encroachment, were interested. The recent arrival of the Sachems was reported on 12 April by Governor Sir Stephen Evance to the Committee which entered in the minutes that they had 'Come over to Solicitt Assistance from the Government & that he had Assured them that this Company Should be ready at all

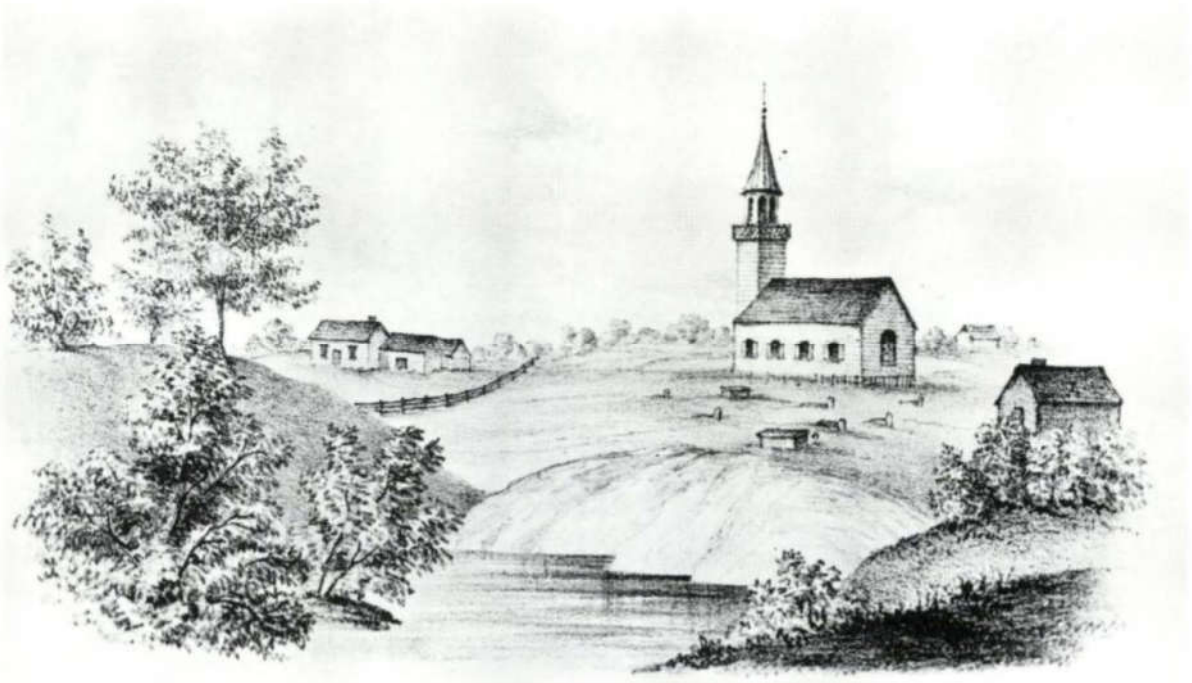
PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

Flow Oh Kaom in the mezzotint by John Simon after the Verelst portrait.

times to give them the utmost assistance, they are Capable of Which this Committee doe approve and Conferme'. There was a further link in that the Queen herself was one of the proprietors of the Company having inherited with the Crown from William III the stock of her father James II who had once been governor of the Company. However, like other shareholders she received no dividends for none were paid during her reign.

In return for their hospitality, the Sachems brought the Committee important news. At that time Albany on James Bay was the only post held by the Hudson's Bay Company, the others being in French hands. Despatches were normally received yearly by the Company ship carrying outfits to the Bay and returning with furs. With the hazards of wartime Atlantic crossings and use of shipping for profit in home waters, no ship was sent to the Bay in 1709 so the Company for well over a year had no information as to local affairs from their Governor at the Bottom of the Bay, John Fullartine, and did not even know if they still held Albany. The first definite news they had came from their Mohawk guests. From them they learnt that there had been a French attack on Albany the previous year. Anxious for details, the Committee wrote to Fullartine in May telling him what they had heard.

'. . . these Kings were Invited to our House by the Governor & Committee to take A Colation with Us, & came Accordingly. By



whome wee were Informed, that the French from Canada had made an attempt Upon our ffort Under your Government, & that by Gods Assistance and your courage & good conduct were Repulsed & beaten back with the Loss of 16 men Killed besides there Two Commanders & severall wounded, & that they were in Number 100 men & upwards whereof 30 were Indians, which wee beleive to be A True Information for one of them as wee understand was in Canada when the Remaindr of them Returned to Quebeck, wee have in ye first place cause to give God Thankes for this Deliverance & next to you as Cheife & to every one that behaved them selves courageously in this Action & desier to know the Perticulars from you, when & how it happend with the circumstances, & also to Know If any one in perticular behaved himselfe bravely in the action more then ordinary.'

(The attack had been an overland expedition intended to surprise the post in June 1709 but, warned by an Indian, Fullartine and his men successfully repulsed the French and lost only two men who were outside the fort.)

Since the vessel sent out in 1710 did not return that season, the Committee had to wait another year before they received the 'perticulars'. However they sent twenty gallons of port to Fullartine and another twenty for the officers and others at the Factory for their successful defence '& to drinke ye Compies Prosperity'. The Indian who warned the post had been given a coat, and Fullartine was subsequently awarded a bonus of £100.

On 4 May the Sachems took the coach for Portsmouth whence they visited the admiral's flagship and were entertained by the Commander of the Fleet. On the 8th they sailed in the man-of-war *Dragon*, put in at Plymouth, and finally left English shores in convoy about the 20th. They reached Boston on 15 July. They had not returned empty-handed, apart from the assurance of future assistance. With them aboard ship went a vast number of gifts from the Crown which had so generously entertained them. Among the items were quantities of such things as brass kettles, lead bars, looking-glasses (three dozen), six kinds of knives, large and small scissors (two dozen of each), necklaces, razors, horn and ivory combs, a gross of jew's-harps, 400 pounds of gunpowder, vermilion, a 'Magick Lanthorn with Pictures', linen shirts, yards of cottons, woollens, linens, duffels, silver braid, and many other things.

The Sachems had expressed their gratitude to Queen Anne and from Boston they sent letters to her and to the Archbishop, signed with their totem marks, thanking them for their kindness and their promise to provide missionaries and a chapel.

Tangible evidence remains of the visit of these ambassadors: the portraits in oils for which Queen Anne paid John Verelst £107.10s.0. Seen in the Queen's Kensington Palace in 1710, these portraits are now at a country estate in Essex and are reproduced here by kind permission of the Hon. John Petre. Various prints of the Kings appeared, but Verelst claimed the sole right for full-length portraits. Eventually he allowed drafts of his paintings to be made by the Huguenot engraver John Simon. Advertised in the *Tatler* at the end of 1710, these engravings proved very popular. Mezzotints of the miniatures by Bernard Lens were grouped on one sheet by the artist's father for reproduction.

On the other side of the Atlantic, not long after their return, Governor Robert Hunter called a conference at Albany, New York, with leaders of the Five Nations and the Sachems recently returned from Great Britain. Among other matters, medals were presented from the

Sketch entitled
'Mohawk Church – Brantford'
from the book
'History of the Ojebway Indians'
by the Reverend Peter Jones,
published 1861.

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

An alms basin (right) and below a flagon,
two pieces of the communion silver presented by Queen Anne
'to Her Indian Chappel of the Mohawks'
following the visit to her court of the Four Kings.
The pieces shown and others are now in
the possession of the Six Nations at Brantford.

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

Queen, and approval was sought for the application of the four for missionaries, a fort, and a chapel. In 1711 the construction of Fort Hunter, on the Mohawk River, was accordingly begun and, within the palisades a chapel, 24 feet square, was built of limestone. A manse was also built. Gifts for Queen Anne's Chapel were sent from England by the Archbishop and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Queen sent as furniture for the chapel a communion table and altar cloths, carpet, tasselled cushion for the pulpit, surplice, prayer books, bible, and a very fine set of communion plate. This silver – flagons, chalices, patens, alms basin – was made by Francis Garthorne and bore the date-letter for 1711-12, when plate was of a higher purity than sterling. Each piece of silver was inscribed: 'The Gift of Her Majesty, Ann [sic], by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and of Her Plantations in North America, Queen, to Her Indian Chappel of the Mohawks'. During the Revolution the silver was buried for safety. When the war ended the members of the Six Nations who remained loyal to the British Crown had to leave their former lands. They migrated to a block of land, secured by Joseph Brant in return for their losses, on the Grand River (near Brantford, Ontario) where they built afresh, in 1785, Her Majesty's Chapel of the Mohawks – the first Protestant church in Ontario. One group of the Six Nations went on to the Bay of Quinte where they settled at Deseronto. The silver was secretly dug up and brought to Canada where it was divided between the two bands. The Mohawk silver is a proud reminder of the visit of the Four Kings to the Court of Queen Anne. ◆

The House That Knight Built

By Walter Zacharchuk

Twenty-seven miles east of Rankin Inlet, N.W.T., lie four small islands, Deadman, Mittilik, Quartzite, and the largest, Marble. It was on these islands that a group of Toronto divers known as the 'Tritons' concentrated their investigations for the remains of the 1719 Knight expedition during the summers of 1970 and 1971.

Under territorial regulations, the group was required to have professional direction and to deposit any artifacts they found with a recognized institution. The National Historic Sites Service of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs provided archaeologist Walter Zacharchuk. His account of the examination of the house remains follows.

Marble and Quartzite Island showing the site of the foundation (1), Lookout Point (2), shipyard where wood chips still exist in cracks of the rock (3), ship remains (4), East End Harbour (5).

THE FOUNDATION of the house where the shipwrecked Knight expedition passed its final days is centrally located on a gently sloping plain whose western limits form the shore of East End Harbour, on Quartzite Island. To the north, east and south the plain is surrounded by quartzite outcrops which might have offered protection against the winds of winter storms. At present the structure's western wall is located approximately 500 feet from shore.

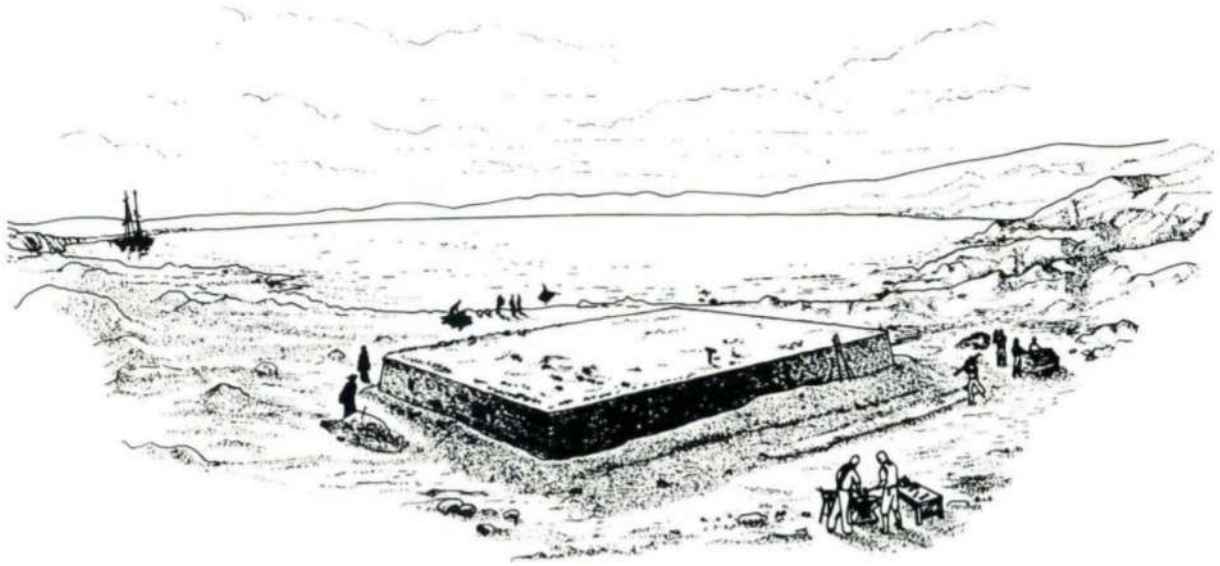
As found, the dimensions of the foundation remains are 48.1 feet by 31.4 feet, the remaining height of the foundation varying with the slope of the terrain.

The original location of the structure offered a good defensive position whose choice was possibly deliberate and certainly in keeping with Knight's mistrust of the Eskimos; it would be difficult to approach the house undetected on this broad, almost featureless terrain. The foundation is surrounded by shallow ditches on the north, east and south. These ditches were evidently dug not only for drainage but in an attempt to raise and level the floor of the building and to increase the height of the walls. This step was obviously necessary, for even now the slope of the terrain drains pools situated on higher elevations. During excavation outside the foundation, damp sand was encountered immediately below the lichen.

Also visible outside the walls was an assortment of rocks which more than likely were used as fill for the walls, but since have been pushed to the outer surface by frost action.

It was readily apparent that, inside the walls, the site had been disturbed many times; in fact, some 29 depressions and gravel mounds were counted. When first examined, 24 depressions were filled with lichen which formed a spongy surface when stepped on; others looked more recent, but with the slow rate of vegetation growth it was almost impossible to estimate the time lapse. Yet another indication of inquisitive tampering within the structure was the absence of flowering plants, which are abundant outside the foundation.

The first documented items to be removed from the site were the guns, anvil and pieces of ship wreckage sent to London in 1767, following the examination of the remains by Joseph Stevens, master of the whaling sloop *Success* and Magnus Johnston and Samuel Hearne, master and mate of the trading sloop *Churchill*. Hearne recorded that in August 1767 there were 'guns, anchors, cables, bricks, a smith's anvil, and many other articles, which the hand of time had not defaced, and which being of no



Knight's House – a hypothetical reconstruction by the author.

use to the natives, or too heavy to be removed by them, had not been taken from the place in which they were originally laid. The remains of the house, though pulled to pieces by the Esquimaux for the wood and iron, are yet very plain to be seen'.

Over the next two hundred years, whalers, prospectors and geological surveyors undoubtedly added to the overall diggings. The last major disturbance, according to a resident of Rankin Inlet, was effected in 1961 by a group of prospectors.

During the summer of 1971, six pits were excavated within the foundation. Excavation began at the south wall in a depression in the approximate centre of the raised mound where the entrance was assumed to be. Surface overburden consisted mostly of gravel, sand, several bricks found in the western limits, and many rocks. No stratigraphy was observed in the upper portions, nor in the very centre of the depression where the assumed entrance was, partially due to the fact that this particular area had been dug previously. At a depth of 3.8 feet below an established level line and ranging from four to six inches below the surface, a 2.5-foot-wide trace of cinders, ash, and humus was uncovered. This trace was followed for two feet to the southwestern limit of the pit where it disappeared under a rock pile. All artifacts recovered from the pit came from within this band which was from two inches to six inches thick.

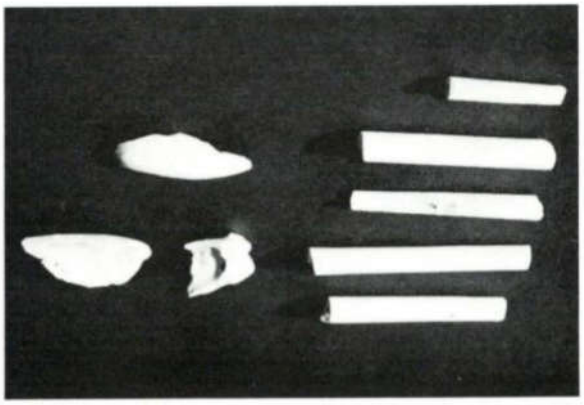
Other areas excavated showed much the same pattern. Massive digging and general disturbance by 'pothunters' have left little meaningful stratigraphy and even fewer artifacts; however, the disturbances were relatively shallow, as within virtually all tests dug, a white quartzite powder from one inch to two inches thick was uncovered at a fairly consistent level. This white stratum can reasonably be assumed to have been the floor level within the house. Below this layer was the sterile gravelly soil.

One other feature which escaped obliteration was found in the centre of the enclosure 12.5 feet from the north wall. This was an L-shaped, two-course layer of bricks. At first it was suggested that these bricks represented the location of the stove, but no large amount of ash or cinders was found associated with it. Since the men were mostly seafaring people and had stripped their ship (or ships), it can be safely assumed that these bricks served as the foundation for the iron galley stove which would have had a separately contained fire-box, therefore spilling a minimal amount of ash on the floor.

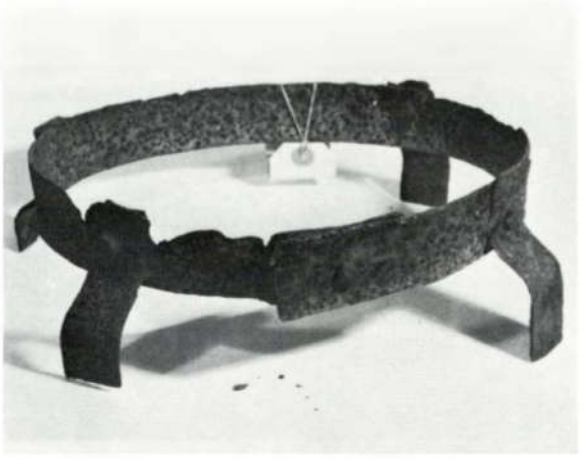
Because of the dimensions of the structure, 48.1 feet by 31.4 feet, large amounts of construction material would have been required. Since many more bricks were found in and around the structure and no mortar was associated with those that were examined, it is suggested that the structure had inclined rather than vertical walls with the bricks laid one on top of the other without mortar against wooden framing. The whole would then have been covered with moss for insulation. This could very well have been the type of house that Knight had his men build, and it probably stood until the last white man died after an ordeal of two years.

The artifacts recovered included many bricks probably used as ballast on the ocean voyage. It would have been interesting to count all bricks found within and around the house foundation, since from this evidence the approximate weight and quantity could have been determined, indicating whether the brick cargo was

The entrance to the building, at lower than floor level, was found in the excavation area above.



Stems and fragments of bowls from clay pipes.



Part of a small iron stove found at 'Lookout Point'.

Leather shoe fragments.

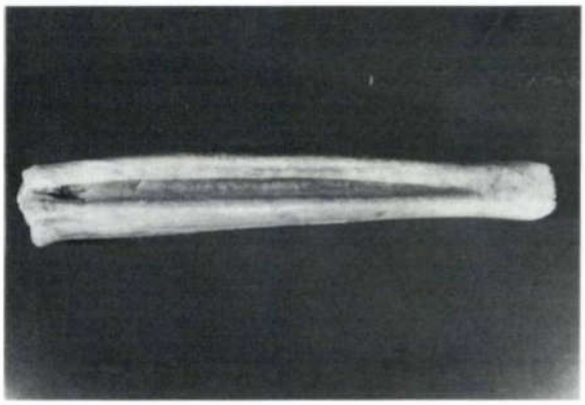
from one or both ships. The bricks, although mould-made, were very crude with much fill added, pipe stems, earthenware and even glass fragments having shown up on close examination. This addition of bulk to save material was a relatively common practice, as shown by brick samples with very similar compositions from other archaeological excavations.

In a nearby area along the south shore of the harbour, numerous artifacts and a large quantity of oak chips were uncovered. Possibly this was the site of the activity seen by the Eskimos when they returned to Quartzite Island in the summer of 1720, after Knight and his men had passed their first winter in the house.

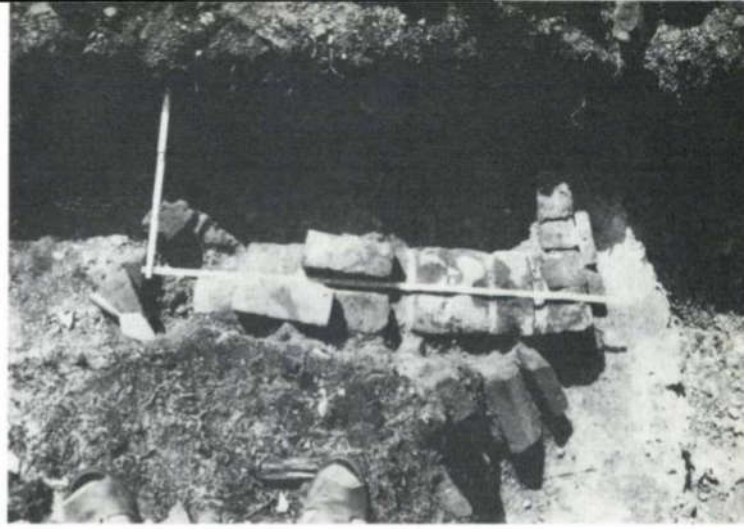
Hearne wrote, 'As soon as the ice permitted . . . the Esquimaux paid them another visit, by which time the number of the English was greatly reduced, and those that were living seemed very unhealthy. According to the account given by the Esquimaux they were then very busily employed, but about what they could not easily describe, probably in lengthening the long-boat; for at a little distance from the house there is now lying a great quantity of oak chips, which have been most assuredly made by carpenters.'

Small pieces of clear glass.

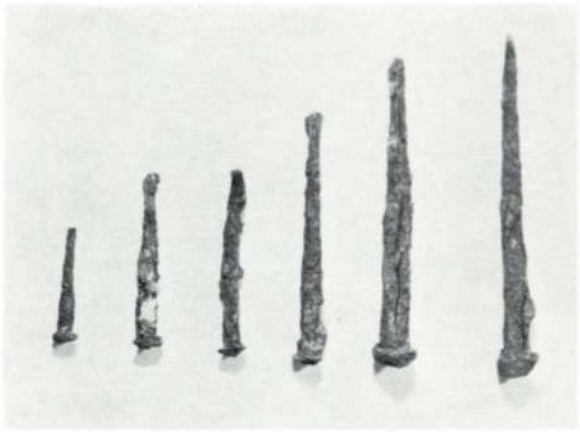
(Photographs: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs).



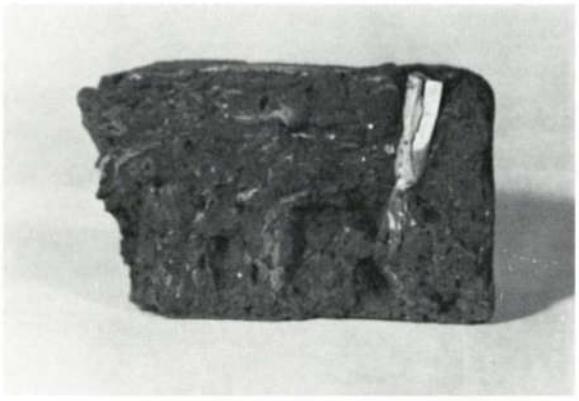
Bone tool, possibly made by Eskimos, about 7" long.



This platform of brick built with mortar was probably used as foundation for the iron galley stove.



Nails – the longest about 3½ inches.



A fragment of brick with embedded pipe stem.

Another discovery was made at 'Lookout Point' where a serrated circular band of iron with legs, measuring approximately twelve inches in diameter was found. This was part of a small cast and wrought iron stove. A considerable amount of coal (about 25 or 30 lumps) was found nearby. 'Lookout Point', the highest point of land close to the house, would have been manned constantly for the sight of ships, during the period that Knight's men survived on the island. It is possible that the small stove was kept burning during the long watches. The Eskimos who witnessed the final scene of the disaster told Hearne that they had found only five of the English alive when they returned to the island in the summer of 1721. Three died within a few days after eating 'seal's flesh and whale's blubber quite raw, as they purchased it from the natives . . . Those two survived many days after the rest, and frequently went to the top of an adjacent rock, and earnestly looked to the South and East, as if in expectation of some vessels coming to their relief. After continuing there a considerable time together, and nothing appearing in sight, they sat down close together, and wept bitterly. At length one of the two died, and the other's strength was so far exhausted that he fell down and died also. . . The longest liver was, according to the Esquimaux account, always employed in working of iron into implements for them: probably he was the armourer, or smith.'

Within the house site most other artifacts were found beneath the lichen on the surface of the overburden. There was a surprising quantity of lids from small kegs, staves, and willow hoops. Bottle bases and necks of olive-green glass were found in the surface level of all the pits, and a square base from a case bottle was also found. This fragment was of clear glass, as were the few fragments of medicine bottles. The inevitable pipe stems and a few bowls were all in a fragmented condition. At present the analysis of the artifacts is not completed; however, all indications are that the artifacts date from the early 1700s. The site does not appear to have any mixture of later colonial or trade material, which points to a single occupation.

Such closely dated sites are rare, and should a full-scale excavation of the Knight house be undertaken, more meaningful information might be retrieved. It might be possible, for example, to determine exactly how the survivors occupied the house, and the precise layout of the interior. The artifacts themselves would be of great assistance to analysts and archaeologists interested in this period of Canadian historical archaeology. ◆

The Robert Janes Murder Trial at POND INLET

By ALEX STEVENSON, Chairman, N.W.T. Historical Advisory Board

IN 1935 WHEN I WENT to Pond Inlet on northern Baffin Island as a fur-trade apprentice with the Hudson's Bay Company, it was twelve years after the murder trial of the Eskimo men who had been responsible for the death of the free trader, Robert Janes. Many of the people still remembered the circumstances of the murder and the scene in court that first introduced the laws of southern society to that remote area. Some of the concepts must have been confusing to a people who had lived for centuries by their own rules and beliefs. In their code of behaviour, they respected their taboos, usually confessed at once if one were broken accidentally, and kept no secrets that could harm others. If trouble developed in a camp, the shaman acted as an intermediary to set things right.

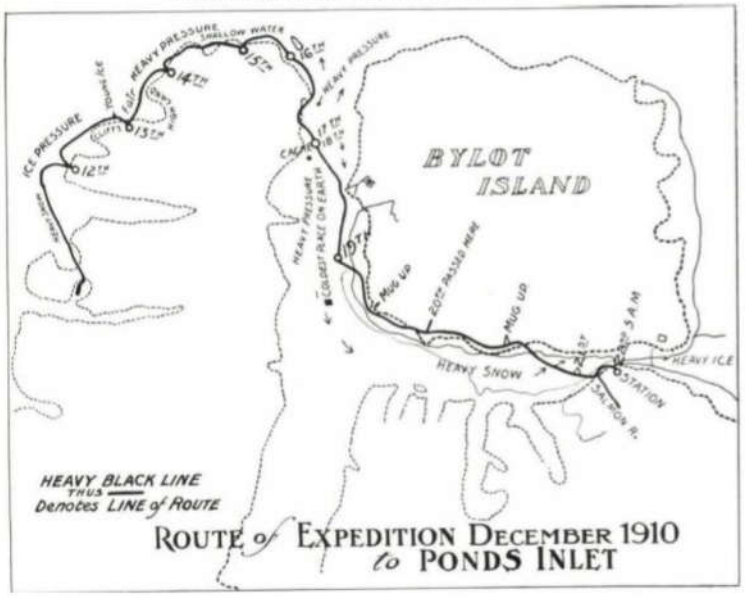
One of the principal Eskimos in the murder case was Oorooreungnak whom I met in 1935, when I was travelling with Akomalik, a guide, from Pond Inlet to an Eskimo camp on Navy Board Inlet. When we arrived, we were invited to share one of the five large and permanent snow houses; I was assigned to the one owned by Oorooreungnak. He was not, at that time, a young man by Eskimo standards but was tough and courageous and had faced many hardships during his life. The previous spring when he had been travelling alone around the northern tip of Baffin Island he had encountered slush and watery ice that had soaked through his skin boots. The weather then turned extremely cold and his feet froze. He built a snow house, tried to attend to his feet and kept out of the freezing weather.

He was miles from camp and when gangrene set in he performed the necessary operation himself, removing his toes with a jack-knife and sewing up the stubs with deer sinew. A party of Eskimo hunters found him and brought him to Pond Inlet where he was given medical attention by R.C.M.P. Corporal Robert Gray. When his feet were healed, he made a set of wooden soles which slipped into his skin boots and gave his shortened feet a better balance. He moved more slowly but he was still an *Inuk marik* – a real Eskimo who hunted and supported himself and his family.

During my time at Pond Inlet, the trader, Jimmy Smith, talked to me about what he had heard from the Eskimos about Janes and the trial of Nookudlah, Ahteetah and Oorooreungnak. Mr Smith had been at Pond Inlet since 1925. He was close to the Eskimo people, spoke their language and knew their family connections and histories. The Eskimo people did not speak casually of the Janes affair; it was only after I had been among them for some time that any of the hunters spoke of it to me.

Robert S. Janes, the murdered man, was a rugged adventurous Newfoundlander who had been second mate on the CGS *Arctic* when she wintered over at Arctic Bay in 1910-11. During the winter Janes had been given the responsibility by Captain J. E. Bernier of travelling to Pond Inlet and Bylot Island to explore the resources of that area and to watch for whalers. During the course of the winter Janes reported on a seam of coal 'fully exposed for about three miles on the west side of the [Salmon] River, about four miles distant from the river mouth'. On the east side were 'considerable quantities' of – what Mr Arthur English, prospector aboard the CGS *Arctic* called – iron pyrites. Although there was no mention of gold in the official report of the expedition, both Janes and Bernier apparently believed that gold did exist in the area. The following year, 1912, three ships were in the north Baffin Island area seeking

A map prepared by Second Officer Robert Janes shows his December 1910 journey from the 'Arctic' wintering at Arctic Bay to Pond Inlet, indicated as 'Station'.



W. ANDERSON

The settlement of Pond Inlet as it was in 1939, sixteen years after the Janes trial. The peaks and glaciers of Bylot Island are seen in the background across Eclipse Sound.

gold. Captain Bernier established the Arctic Gold Mining and Exploration Syndicate and appointed Wilfred Caron to man three 'shacks' and trade with the Eskimos. Henry Toke Munn, sent out by 'a London firm well known in the mining world' to investigate 'certain localities for alluvial gold' arrived on the S.S. *Algerine*, which the same summer was crushed in the ice and sank within twenty-five minutes. Munn later described in his book 'Tales of the Eskimos', an immense vein of quartz, averaging fully twenty feet in width from its foot to where it disappeared under the overhanging ice. This vein 'seemed literally to be as much gold as quartz'; its 'untold wealth' was destined to disappear, within a year, beneath an advancing glacier.

In 1916, Robert Janes, backed by a Newfoundland business man, returned to Pond Inlet and set up a trading post at Patricia River on Eclipse Sound, a few miles away from Bernier's post. He traded and travelled in the area for three years without obtaining gold or even all the furs that he believed he should have taken. During that time his backer did not send in the relief schooner with supplies as he had promised. Janes was not aware of the fact that shortly after he had set up his trading operation on northern Baffin Island, his backer had become 'mentally affected' and was under medical care. The supply vessel, the S.S. *Kite* had been sold and possibly the backer never told anyone of his investment in the lone trader 2,000 miles to the northwest. Janes was abandoned. The long period of darkness, the isolation, the frustration and disappointment began to prey on him. He became 'a very difficult unreasonable fellow'. In 1919 he was offered passage out (at a reputedly exorbitant price) by Captain Henry Munn but declined. He had decided that he would make his own way south by dog-team, going north through Navy Board Inlet, around the north coast of Baffin Island, south down Admiralty Inlet and then overland to the Foxe Basin and south to Fort Churchill on Hudson Bay.

During his three years at Pond Inlet, Janes had had misunderstandings with a number of Eskimos. His dealings with them became more difficult as his trading goods ran low; his morose and quarrelsome manner made him feared. He claimed that several hunters owed him furs and began to insist on payment. One hunter named Oomee had traded caribou skins and a white fox pelt for tobacco. Janes had given him so little tobacco

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

Cairn built by Second Mate Robert Janes at Adams Sound, October 1910. The men are believed to be Janes (left) and A. English, prospector with CGS 'Arctic'.

from his depleted stock that Oomee protested; he demanded more and Janes became angry and abusive. Another man, Ahteetah (who was still an outstanding hunter in the late 1930s, and leader among his people who had a large camp at Agu on Admiralty Inlet), was intercepted when he drove past Janes' trading post on his way to Pond Inlet with furs. Janes forced him to turn over fox skins, for which Ahteetah claimed he was not paid. Janes was acquiring a reputation as an unfair, quarrelsome trader, and as his manner became increasingly violent and threatening, the people feared that he would use a gun to achieve his ends.

Janes found a focus for his hostility when Kudloo, the young Eskimo woman who lived with him began to share her favours with Oomee's son, Nookudlah. Janes threatened to shoot Nookudlah if he found him near the trading post, and this was common gossip among the people who did not understand the southern-oriented jealousy over a woman. Janes must be a madman.

In the first week of March 1920 when the sun began to reappear briefly each day, Janes with an Eskimo guide Ootookito – who had been promised two rifles, ammunition, and tobacco – began his journey back to civilization. As they headed north up Navy Board Inlet, a blizzard halted their progress and they spent two storm-bound days in a snow-house with a local hunter. During the hours of waiting, Janes spoke angrily of the trouble he had had with Nookudlah, and said he was 'no good'. On the third day the weather cleared; the hunter with better dogs and a lighter load set out, left Janes far behind, and soon joined a group that included Nookudlah. During the hours of gossip in the camp, the talk of the hunters centered around their growing fear of Janes.

By this time, Janes and his guide had rounded the north end of Baffin Island and were travelling south down Admiralty Inlet. Near Strathcona Sound they encountered recent sled tracks heading off to the north-west towards Cape Crauford, a camp known for seal hunting at the open leads in Lancaster Sound. Janes needed both dog food and dogs for his extended journey. He ordered Ootookito to turn his sled and follow the tracks. Off Cape Crauford they came to an Eskimo camp of snow-houses built out on the sea ice. Among the hunters Janes saw a number who owed him furs for advances of ammunition and other trade goods. The trader and his guide were welcomed with typical Inuit hospitality and invited to share one of the larger houses. The people at first were not afraid of Janes.

Two days later the group of hunters that included Nookudlah arrived. When Nookudlah heard of Janes' presence in the camp, he told a number of Eskimos that the trader was angry with him and in order to protect himself, he was going to visit Janes and test his mood. He walked over to the snow-house where Janes was staying and soon returned to tell his companions that Janes was no longer angry.

During the next two days Janes restocked with dog food and then approached a number of his debtors. He reminded them of the trade goods they had obtained and asked for fox skins to clear their debts. The furs were a light cargo and could be used as a medium of exchange for supplies and dog food at camps on the way south.

One hunter later recalled his visit to the snow-house where Janes sat with a book in his hand – no doubt a ledger. The trader told him that he had made no payment for tobacco received some two years ago. The hunter explained that he still could not pay because he had no foxes. Janes flew into a rage and the hunter quickly left.

As Janes continued to press his debtors for furs, tension in the camp mounted. The climax was reached when Janes told Nookudlah that he was going to begin shooting. 'Never mind if I kill some of the people and afterwards most of the dogs' he was reported to have said. The story spread quickly through the camp and the people became frightened. Janes was no longer a welcome guest.

There were some thirty hunters in the camp; all had snow knives and harpoons and most carried rifles. Nookudlah then made it known that he would accept the responsibility of killing Janes before his rages resulted in many deaths. The camp accepted this solution, and the next day most of the men left camp to

Some of the Pond Inlet people who would know Janes and the story of his trial. Nookudlah, in cap, is seen at the far right.

hunt seals. As they returned they met two frightened women who said they had run away from camp because Janes was again in a bad temper and Nookudlah had decided that the time to kill him had come.

The hunters returned to their snow-houses and remained inside with their families. At dusk Nookudlah crouched down behind a sled outside the snow-house where Janes was staying. Oorooreungnak, who had the confidence of Janes was sent inside. He was to tell Janes that a hunter had just arrived with fox skins. Oorooreungnak went into the snow-house but could not bring himself to speak the chosen words. He went out again and told Nookudlah that Janes was eating. The men waited for a short while and then Oorooreungnak went back inside. The scene that followed was vivid in the hunter's memory years later.

'After I went into Janes' igloo the second time, it was a long time before I could speak. I told Janes after a while and he started to go outside. Then I told him to wait and then I told him to go on again.'

The man's erratic behaviour did not appear to alarm the trader for he stepped outside and into the range of Nookudlah's rifle. The first shot hit the snow, yards off target; the second shot hit Janes in the hip. As he swayed, Ahteetah who had been standing beside the entrance, pushed the wounded man forward to the ground. He lay on his back and called to Oorooreungnak that he didn't care about foxes, that he didn't want anyone to pay him back, that he would go away. He kept repeating these words and then, just before Nookudlah fired the final shot, he spoke a sentence in English that no one understood.

Janes' guide, Ootookito was inside the snow-house when the shots were fired. He recalled that Nookudlah came into the house, lit the lantern and took it outside. The people came out of their houses and stood watching. One man had a stick to keep the dogs away. The guide then attended to the body and with the help of three others rolled Janes in one of his own blankets and took him away on a sled for burial. The next day most of the hunters presented fox furs to Nookudlah for having protected the camp from a man who had become a danger to the safety of all. Although the spring hunting of seals had only begun at Cape Crauford, the community dispersed; some Eskimos returned to Pond Inlet, some to Igloolik and others to Arctic Bay.

When the navigation season opened in July, Bernier's trader, Wilfred Caron, who had spent the winter of 1919-20 at his home in Quebec, returned to Pond Inlet and heard the story of the Janes murder from the Eskimos. In the autumn when he went south again for the winter, he notified the authorities in Ottawa.

The following summer, the Hudson's Bay Company's supply ship *Baychimo* carried Staff-Sergeant A. H. Joy

In the back row Wilfred Parsons, a member of the Coroner's Jury, and W. J. Nichols. Leo Jackman, standing third from right, was doctor on the 'Baychimo' in 1921. The men seated, front row, are from the 'Baychimo': Chief Engineer Black; Percy Patmore, H B C Transport Office; First Officer Craig, and Captain Edmund Falk.

who had been invested with 'considerable powers'. He had been commissioned as a Justice of the Peace in the Northwest Territories and appointed coroner, special customs officer and postmaster of the post office that would begin operation at Pond Inlet with his arrival. After visiting a number of settlements in Hudson Bay, the ship reached Pond Inlet on 29 August. The Company built a trading post where Staff-Sergeant Joy was to live until the Pond Inlet police detachment was built the following year. His general duty was to 'enforce law and order in all the district tributary to Ponds Inlet'; his special assignment was to investigate 'an alleged murder of a Mr Janes by an Eskimo.'

Staff-Sergeant Joy's first task was to establish the existence of Janes' body. By December he had all the required information and although the land was now in darkness much of the day, Staff-Sergeant Joy accompanied by three Eskimos and a dog team started out for Cape Crauford, 250 miles away. They travelled light, conditions were good and they reached their objective on 21 December. Joy's report read:

> The search for the body was interrupted for several days by a severe storm. It was finally located on 26 December, on a high ledge on the face of a mountain, opposite the spot where the shooting occurred out on the ice. An examination of the body for marks of violence at this time was impossible, owing to the dim light, it being almost dark the entire day. I then took the body to the east side of Admiralty Inlet and cached it, while I proceeded to Arctic Bay to get witnesses for the coroner's inquest.
>
> On my arrival at Arctic Bay, several of the Eskimos there were anticipating a trip to Pond's Inlet in the near future, and these, including three witnesses for the inquest, accompanied me on my return journey. On my return journey I picked up the body of Janes and brought it to Pond's Inlet, arriving here in the evening of January 21st, 1922.

Staff-Sergeant Joy found no furs or personal belongings in the grave. The return trip from Cape Crauford to Pond Inlet with the body of the murdered man on one sled took just over three weeks. Staff-Sergeant Joy now assumed the role of coroner, performed an autopsy, described the number of bullets and their course through the body. He had Trader Wilfred Caron appear before him and swore out an 'Information to hold Inquest'. Wilfred Parsons of the Hudson's Bay Company was sworn in as a Special Constable. A 'Warrant to Summon a Jury' was issued by Special Constable Parsons to Staff-Sergeant Joy who in turn served 'Summons to Jury' upon Wilfred Caron, Wilfred Parsons and his assistant – Gaston Herodier. 'Summons to Witness' was then served by Special Constable Parsons upon Coroner Joy and the three Eskimo witnesses whom Joy had brought back from Arctic Bay.

The same day that these formalities were observed, the coroner's inquest opened in the living area of the H B C post. The body of Janes lay frozen in the Company warehouse where it was duly viewed by the jury and various witnesses. As it was necessary to bring other witnesses before Coroner Joy, there were a number of

adjournments so that, as Staff-Sergeant Joy, he could go out for the individuals in question. The verdict of the coroner's jury was that Janes had met his death at the hands of Nookudlah, aided and abetted by Oorooreungnak and Ahteetah. The Coroner's jury was formally dismissed and the court closed.

Following the inquest, the body of Janes was buried near the main settlement at the mouth of the Salmon River, and at the head of the grave, Staff-Sergeant Joy placed a piece of wooden plank bearing the inscription: 'In memory of R S Janes of Newfoundland Died at Cape Crawford [sic] March 1920'.

By July, Staff-Sergeant Joy had the three accused men under arrest at Pond Inlet. As Justice of the Peace he held a preliminary inquiry, heard the testimony of the witnesses and the three accused and recorded:

> Although the form was complied with and the best explanation possible given them by their interpreters, I was convinced that it was beyond their comprehension but each willingly made a statement. Nookudlah was the first. He enumerated the times Janes got angry with him at Patricia River. He also indicated that it was with the consent of at least the older men at Cape Crawford that he killed Janes.
>
> Oorooreungnak was next. He stated that it was at the suggestion of either Nookudlah or Ahteetah that he went to entice Janes from his igloo.
>
> Ahteetah related in detail how Janes took his fox and bear skins from him at Patricia River by taking a gun to him, for which he never received any pay until he helped himself to Janes' cartridges and tobacco after he was dead.

The accused men were committed to the guard room of the new police detachment. When the CGS *Arctic* arrived late in the summer of 1922, it brought two additional men to strengthen the detachment. The vessel sailed south with Joy's detailed report, which was carefully studied in Ottawa. The decision was finally made to hold the trial in Eskimo country rather than in the south. It was thought that the proceedings of the courts might impress more strongly upon the people, southern concepts of justice, law, and order.

The Government selected four lawyers and gave them special appointments for the conduct of the trial. Louis A. Rivet of Montreal was appointed Judge; Adrien Falardeau of Quebec, Crown Prosecutor; Leopold Tellier of Montreal, Counsel for the Defence, and François Biron, of Montreal, Clerk of the Court.

The official interpreter was to be William Duval of Pangnirtung, a man of German extraction, who had lived some 50 years among the Eskimos of the Eastern Arctic as a whaler and fur trader.

In the summer of 1923, the judicial party sailed north on the CGS *Arctic* and reached Pond Inlet on 23 August. An unusually large number of Eskimos had come into the settlement to watch the arrival of the vessel and their sealskin tents dotted the landscape around the police building. Some of the hunters were to be witnesses; many others had come in from distant camps, curious to see what would happen.

The senior R.C.M.P. officer in attendance was Inspector C. E. Wilcox, who later reported that 'This trial was conducted throughout strictly in accordance with the Rules and Regulations of the force and with all the decorum of a Supreme Court in civilization.' The lawyers wore their robes; police officers in full dress uniform were detailed as the prisoners' escorts and a non-commissioned officer acted as orderly and escort to the presiding judge.

The trial was held in the new police detachment in the main room which measured about sixteen by twenty-five feet. Into this space were crammed judge and jury – selected from among the ship's officers and crew – lawyers, witnesses and as many Eskimo people as the area would accommodate.

The prisoners – Ahteetah, Nookudlah and Oorooreungnak.

His Honour Judge Rivet, through Interpreter Duval opened proceedings, by addressing the court. The purpose of the trial was explained and it was emphasized that if a white man had killed an Eskimo that proceedings would be the same. Despite the formal and sober atmosphere, the Crown Prosecutor later said that the three prisoners did not seem to realize the seriousness of the situation.

The Judge, however, commented at the end of the trial: 'It was apparent that the trial had been a severe strain on the accused, for they looked quite unwell at the termination.'

The progress of the trial was difficult and slow. Witnesses were interrogated through the interpreter and often a question was put six or seven times before the answer was obtained. In some cases answers were merely the kind of replies that the witness believed were expected of him. Delays were occasioned when witnesses were allowed to stand down for recall after a session of unproductive questioning. The scarlet-coated police escort would lead one witness away and another would be called to the stand. 'We would have three witnesses on the stand so to speak at once' commented the Judge on a later occasion.

Mr Duval had the difficult and responsible task of interpreting both the words and the attitudes of two groups from widely different backgrounds and cultures.

At one point during the trial, it was said, all formality was abruptly forgotten when a school of narwhal swept down Admiralty Inlet close to the settlement. Those Eskimos outside saw the wake of the whales and the gleam of their white tusks as the mammals surfaced and dived. The cry 'Killaluah' rang out and was echoed in the courtroom. As hunters reached for their rifles and swept forward towards the door, the judicial party and jury took temporary refuge beneath the tables.

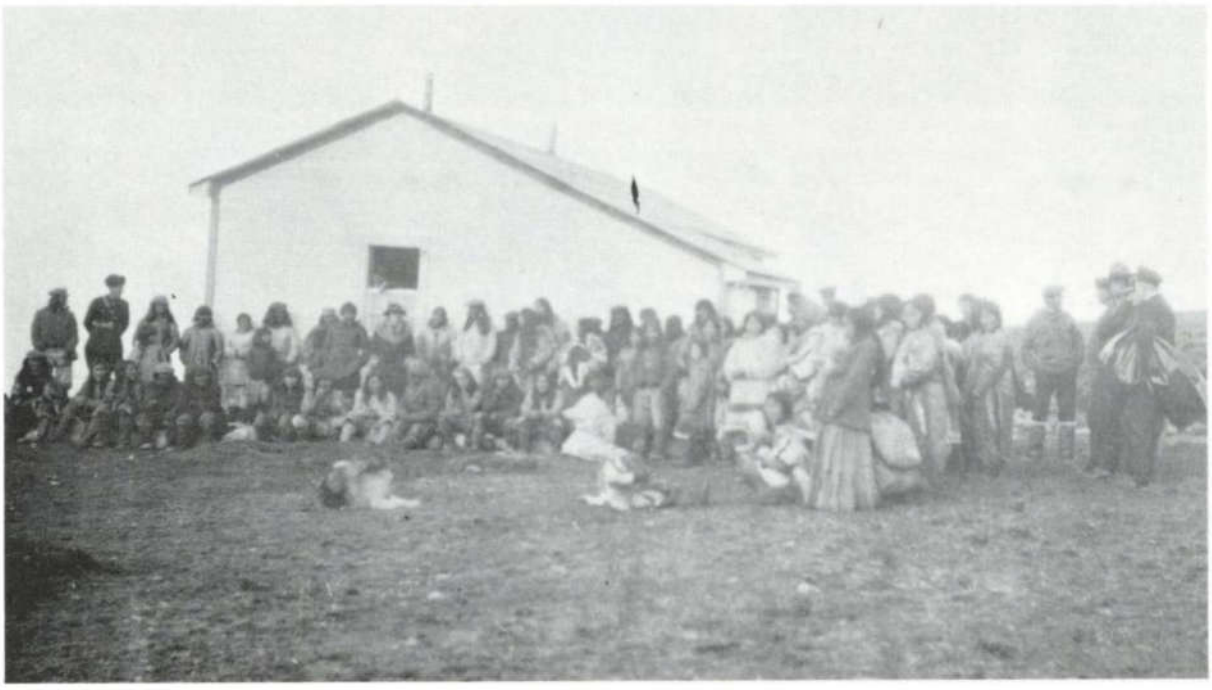
The trial lasted for five days. The counsel for the defence pointed out the weakness of the evidence against Ahteetah and urged that he be discharged. On behalf of the other two men he pleaded 'that the life of the Eskimos, their ignorance of the laws of civilization, and the provocation given them by Janes be taken into consideration by the jury in arriving at their verdict.'

The Crown Prosecutor presented the premise that Eskimos, in their own way, know murder is wrong. In the examination of each witness, dialogue similar to the following took place between Mr Falardeau and the witness:

'Did one Eskimo ever kill another Eskimo?'
'Yes.'
'What happened to him?'
'He ran away.'
'Why?'
'He did not want to be killed.'
'Who would kill him?'
'The dead man's relatives.'

The Counsel for the Crown pressed for a conviction for all three, stating that 'In civilization he would ask for a verdict of murder, but taking into consideration the ignorance of the prisoners, he only asked for a verdict of manslaughter. He informed the jury they could, if they

The Eskimo people listening to Judge Rivet. Nookudlah is at the far left with police escort.



GERTRUDE CRAIG COLL.

desired, recommend the accused to the clemency of the Court.'

After thirty minutes of deliberation, the jury brought in its verdict. Nookudlah was found guilty of manslaughter with a recommendation for mercy because of extenuating circumstances. Oorooreungnak was found guilty of manslaughter and Ahteetah was acquitted. Judge Rivet sentenced Oorooreungnak, for aiding and abetting, to 'two years imprisonment with hard labour in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police guardroom at Ponds Inlet.' Judge Rivet sentenced Nookudlah to ten years in Stony Mountain Penitentiary near Winnipeg, Manitoba. The Judge was alleged to have said, in a later conversation, that had the Eskimos been white men he 'would have held about twenty of the witnesses as accessories to murder.'

Judge Rivet believed that the sentence passed on Nookudlah made a greater impression on the people than a sentence of death. He stated:

> The prisoner Nookudlah was led away immediately after sentence was passed, to the ship, through a gazing crowd of his own people, without being given a chance to communicate with any of them. It is hardly possible that a native with the prestige that Nookudlah must have had with the other Eskimos at the time he killed Janes, could have been subjected to greater humiliation than to be led away directly under the eyes of not less than one hundred of his relatives and friends.

Before the judicial party embarked on the *Arctic* taking the key prisoner south, Staff-Sergeant Joy called all the people together to hear an address by His Honour Judge Rivet. The Judge carefully explained the purpose of the trial, and in the accepted manner of that day, explained that they were all children of the 'big white father who lived far away.' The King had their welfare in mind when he sent the members of the R.C.M.P. to work among them. He stressed that the Government intended to have the law respected by both white men and Eskimos. The Court had been lenient on the prisoners because they had not known the white man's law. Now they had seen the Court in action, it should result in a greater respect for human life among the people of Arctic Canada.

At the end of his speech, the Eskimos all 'joined in three generous cheers for the Judge.'

Nookudlah was escorted by a member of the Force to Quebec City and on 8 October 1923 he entered Stony Mountain Penitentiary where he died after serving two years of his sentence.

The body of Janes was re-interred near the mouth of the Salmon River close to Pond Inlet. Beside his grave lies the grave of another trader who also died tragically but not at the hands of the Inuit.

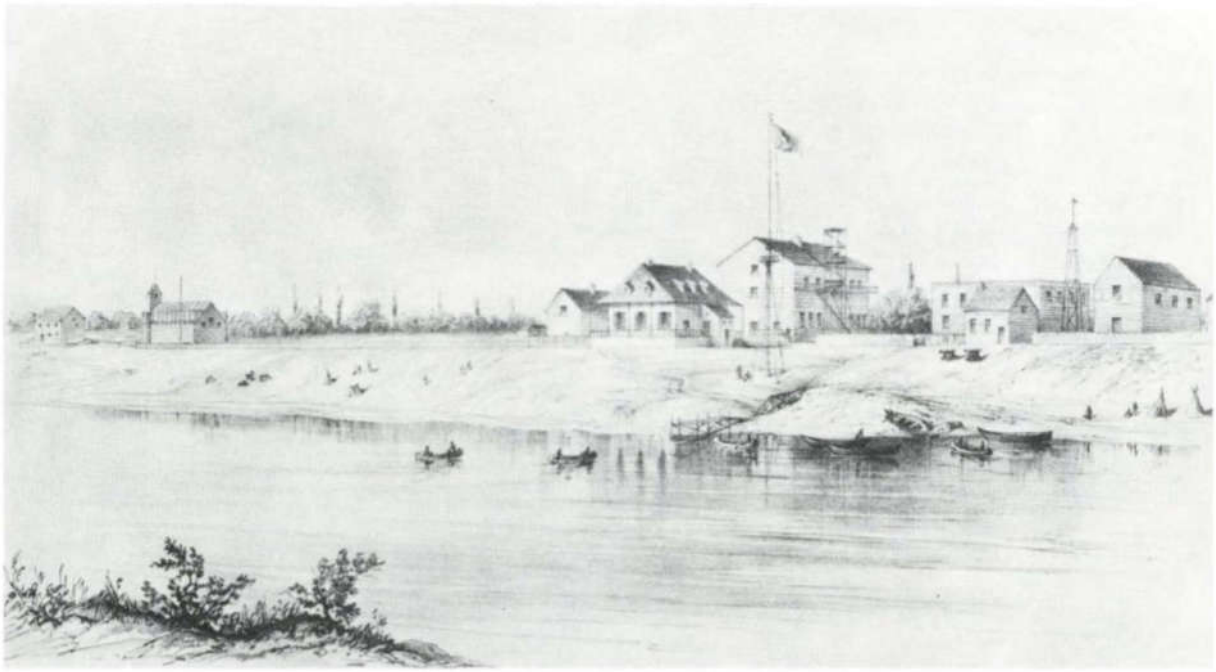
For many years there was a sensitivity about the Janes' killing and trial among people of the area. They did not speak of it casually to outsiders who were curious about the graves. Their thoughts on their first experience with the formal administration of southern justice were kept mainly to themselves. ◆

The wife of Nookudlah.

GERTRUDE CRAIG COLL.

Nookudlah on board the 'Arctic' with Judge Louis Rivet and Constable Tredgold.

GERTRUDE CRAIG COLL.



Moose Factory, sketched in 1854 by W. Trask. The church at the left would have belonged originally to the Wesleyan Methodist Mission founded at Moose in 1840 and active there for eight years.

MOOSE FACTORY

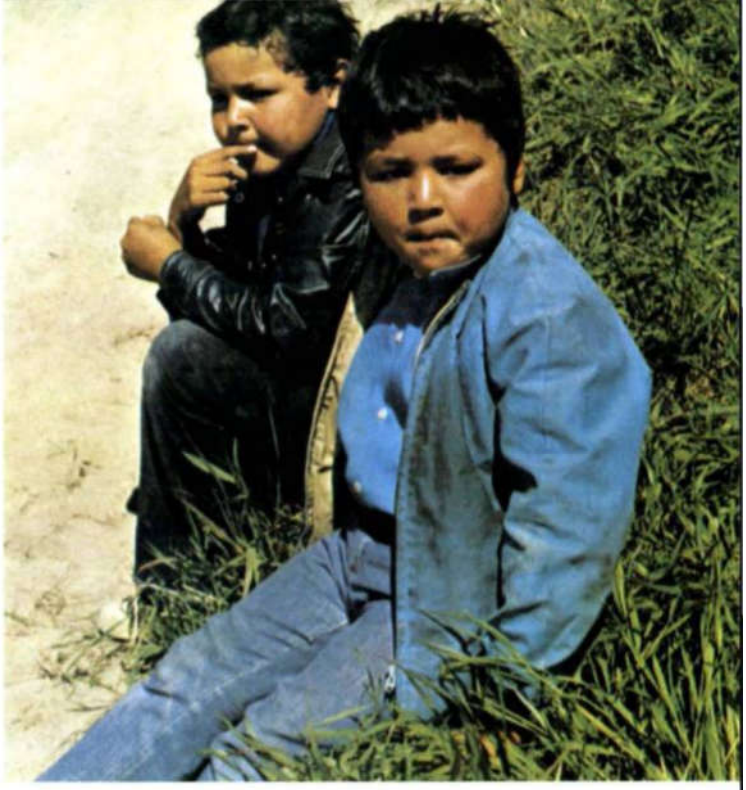
IN THE SUMMER OF 1673 Charles Bayly, a Quaker and the first Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in North America established a fur-trade post at Moose River. The first building was a small house intended for occasional occupation. By 1686 this had been enlarged to a three-storey timber building surrounded by a stockade seventeen or eighteen feet in height and flanked by four bastions. From the beginning the post was supported by the Cree Indians of James Bay who brought in furs, and game to supplement the H B C fare of oatmeal, flour, and salt beef.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the settlement was a shipping centre, moving furs out from other Company posts and receiving their trade goods from the ocean-going ships in harbour at the mouth of the Moose River. In 1810 Moose Factory became headquarters of the Southern Department and it was here that the Governor of Rupert's Land and the Council met to discuss operations for the coming year. The Company's first saw mill in North America began operation in 1812. During the winter logs were cut upriver and hauled out to the river bank by horses; in the spring they were rafted downstream to the steam sawmill. Almost from the time of its founding the inhabitants of Moose Factory planted and harvested crops of garden vegetables, barley, oats, rye, and wheat. Through the centuries the Indian people participated in almost every aspect of Company business from carrying the 'pacquet' to clerking in the Company store.

To celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of the community, the citizens of Moose — some of whom trace their ancestry back through many generations on Factory Island, chose 17 June as Founding Day. During three days of sunshine a number of guests arrived to take part in the celebrations. Among them were the Honourable William Ross Macdonald, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario; the Honourable René Brunelle, Ontario's Minister of Community and Social Services and Mrs Brunelle, H B C Governor G. T. Richardson and Mrs Richardson and their two sons, and Hugh Sutherland, H B C's Senior Vice President.

In the Moose Factory graveyard there are tombstones that date back to early years of the nineteenth century. St Thomas's Church was built in 1860, and although the age of the blacksmith's shop is not definitely established, it is believed to be Ontario's oldest wooden building.

The historic community was launched on its fourth century with feasts and speeches, payment of treaty money and distribution of letters from the packet, fireworks, and the flight of two Voodoo Jets overhead.



Members of Moose Factory's younger generation wait for the festivities to begin. An early fur press stands in front of the Company store.

1673-1973

Photographs are from the collection of Mrs Tannis Richardson, and by E. Duke

Moose Factory with a view of St Thomas's Anglican Church in the foreground.

A 21-gun salute heralds the arrival of H B C Governor George Richardson and Mrs Richardson.

Mrs Nellie Faries, a tercentennial co-ordinator left, and Mrs Tannis Richardson with Mrs Kathleen Louttit, Tercentennial Queen. The family names, Faries and Louttit have been associated with the history of Moose Factory for many decades.

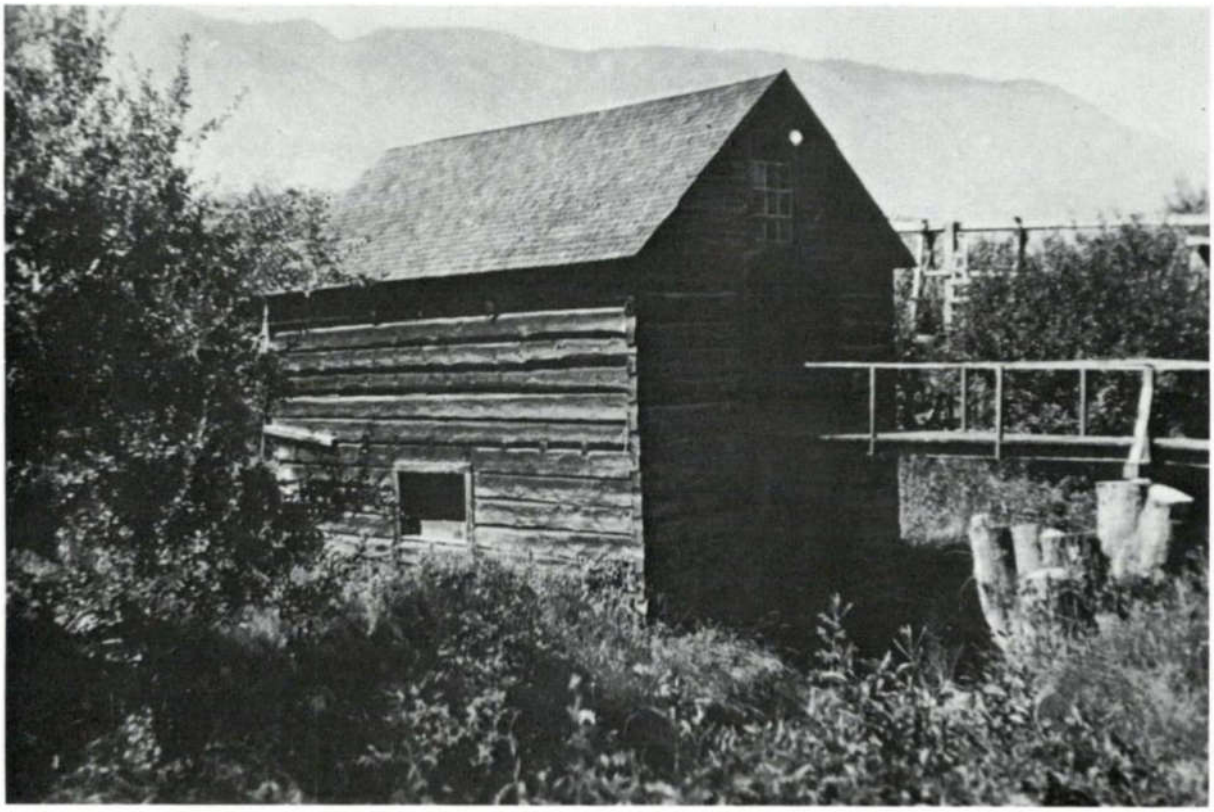
Canoes arrive with the packet after a two-week journey along the old water route from Cochrane.

H B C Governor George Richardson with Moose Band Chief Robert Vincent.

Arrival by helicopter of the Honourable William Ross Macdonald, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario.

The packet is carried ashore; letters are stamped with Moose Factory tercentennial symbol.

From the vantage point of the fur press youngsters relax while viewing the festive scene.



PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES, VICTORIA, B.C.

The Keremeos mill, built in 1867 and still standing. At the upper right, just above the ramp leading to the mill door, a portion of the water flume which fed water to the wheel is visible.

The Keremeos Grist Mill

By CAROLYN SMYLY
Drawings by JOHN SMYLY

WHEN THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY closed its store in Keremeos, B.C. in 1872 and moved to Kamloops, the Company property was leased to Barrington Price, an Englishman. Mr Price ran the property as a stock ranch, but he recorded two adjacent pre-emptions, on one of which he built a water-powered grist mill in 1876. Until that year, flour had to be packed in from Colville, 170 miles to the southeast by present roads, and in the State of Washington.

The mill, which still stands in the almost-dry creek bed in Keremeos, was built of logs, each hewn to shape, smoothed with a broadaxe and pegged vertically with wooden pins to the log below. The corners were neatly dovetailed. This kind of construction, when carefully done, seems stronger than anything built with nails, and the excellent condition of the mill today is proof of its durability.

A good proportion of the mill machinery has survived the years as well, cleared out from the upper floor which is now used as an artist's studio, but safely stored on the ground floor where a few weeks' work by an expert millwright could restore it to running condition. Such a millwright is Charles Howell, descendant of five generations of millwrights and millers in England and now resident miller at the restored Philipsburg Manor Mill, North Tarrytown, New York. Mr Howell visited the mill in 1971 and was able to work out the plan and operation of the original enterprise.

Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of water-driven mills is the ingenuity with which the force of a current of water is captured and directed to every part of the mill and every function of its machinery. Water was diverted in this case from further up Keremeos Creek,

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The author, before her marriage to John Smyly, was Curator of History, Provincial Museum, Victoria, B.C.

brought along a flume or head-race cut into the side of the embankment, and dropped onto the top of the water-wheel. A gate in the head-race controlled the flow of water, or diverted it back into the creek-bed, giving a simple on-off arrangement.

The water-wheel itself (marked 1 on the sketch-plan), of wooden construction some ten or twelve feet in diameter by five feet wide, was turned by the current of water, and as the wheel and its axle turned together, the rotary motion was transferred to a spur wheel (2) on the same shaft inside the mill walls. Of the water-wheel at Keremeos, only a portion of the shaft remains, but the shaft hole in the wall, and the shingles nailed to the logs to protect them from the splash of the wheel, attest to its original position.

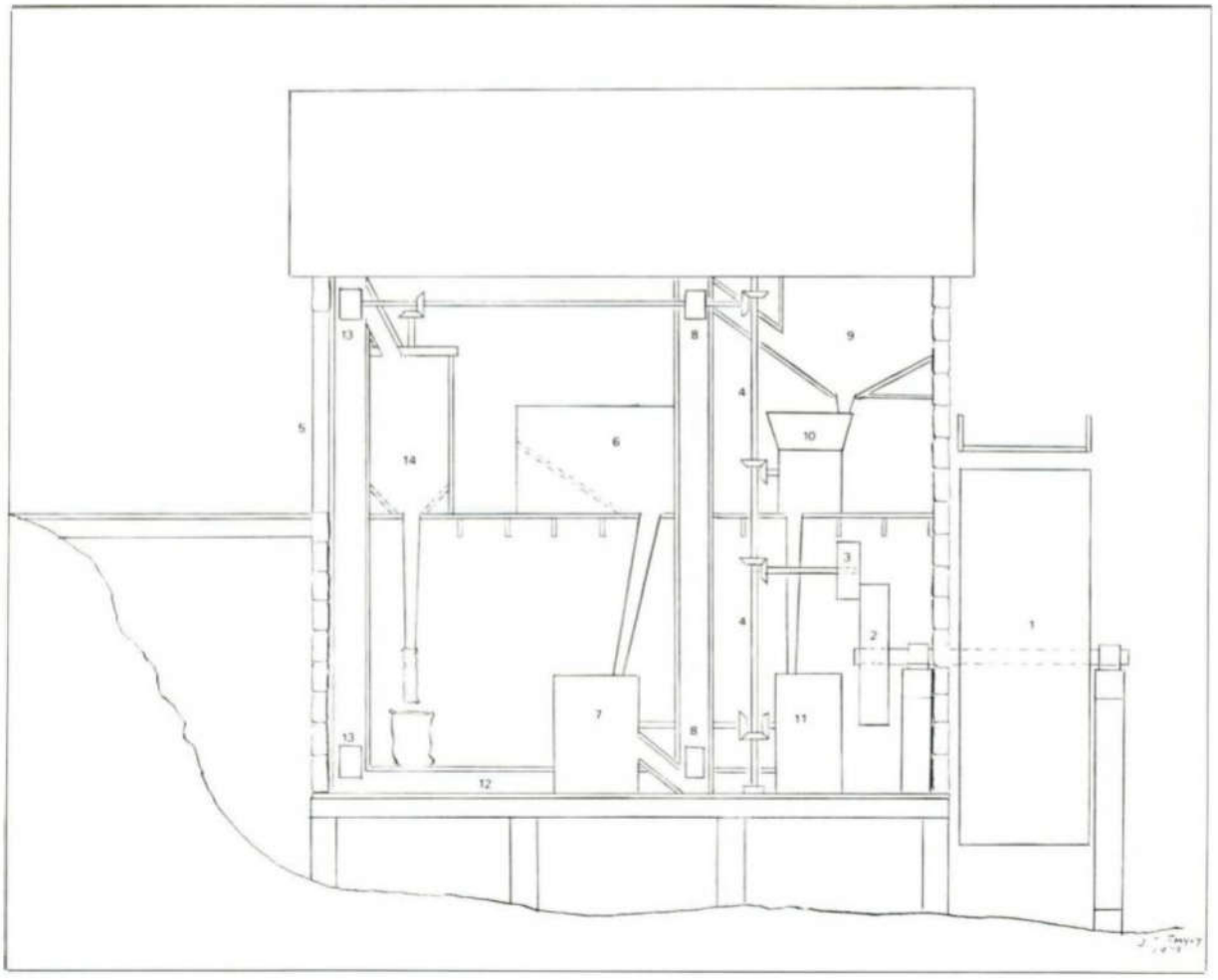
From the spur wheel, the rotary motion was geared up (3) and transmitted to a counter shaft (4) from which each machine was driven. From thence onward, a subtle rhythm was set up. Water power lifted the grain to the upper floor of the mill, gravity brought it down again, in a series of operations which cleaned the grain, coarsely ground it, finely ground it, sifted it into various grades of flour, and poured it into sacks ready for shipment.

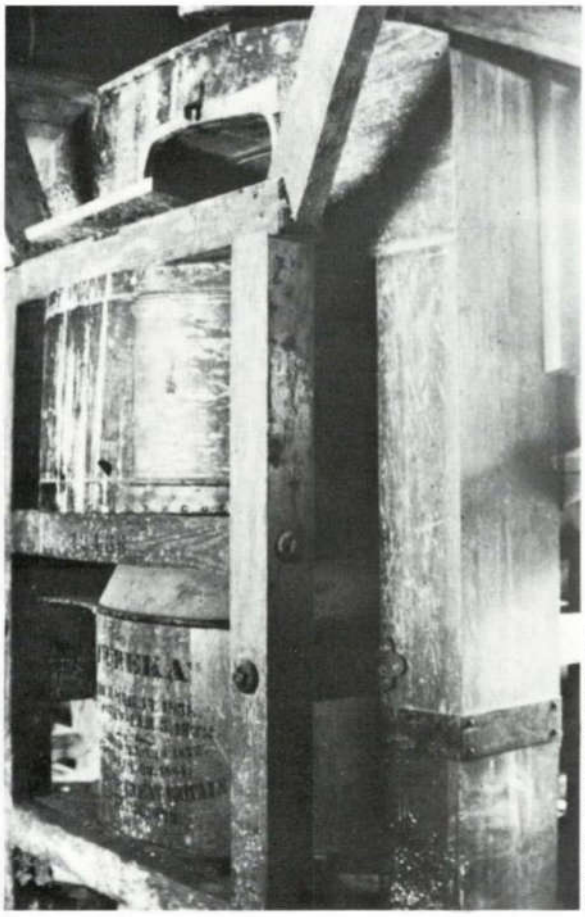
From Mr Howell's observations, the wheat was probably received in sacks through the entrance door (5) on the upper floor of the mill, on the same level as the top of the steep bank. The wheat would be weighed, and tipped into a bin (6) where it would feed down into the Eureka grain-cleaning machine (7) on the floor below. This machine, which remains in the mill, was manufactured by Howes, Babcock and Company, Silver Creek, New York. Its purpose was to thoroughly clean and aspirate the grain prior to grinding.

In an advertisement in a milling trade journal published in 1876, the year the Keremeos mill was built, the Company claimed that the Eureka Smut and Separating Machine was:

> Still Triumphant. 9,000 machines sold in eleven years, and at the present time more Eurekas sold than all other Smut and Separating Machines combined. This fact alone establishes its superiority over all others. The sale of the Eureka extends to every State in the Union, Canada, and every country in Europe, South America, and in fact to every country on the globe where there is wheat to be ground.

Scale plan of a mill similar to the Keremeos mill showing the water wheel (1), spur wheel (2), gear wheel (3), drive shaft (4), entrance door (5), bin (6), Eureka grain cleaner (7), bucket elevator (8), bin (9), patent grinder (10), James Jones New Process mill (11), horizontal screw (12), bucket elevator (13), and flour bolter (14).





PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES, VICTORIA, B.C.

This Eureka Smut and Separating machine cleaned the grain prior to grinding.

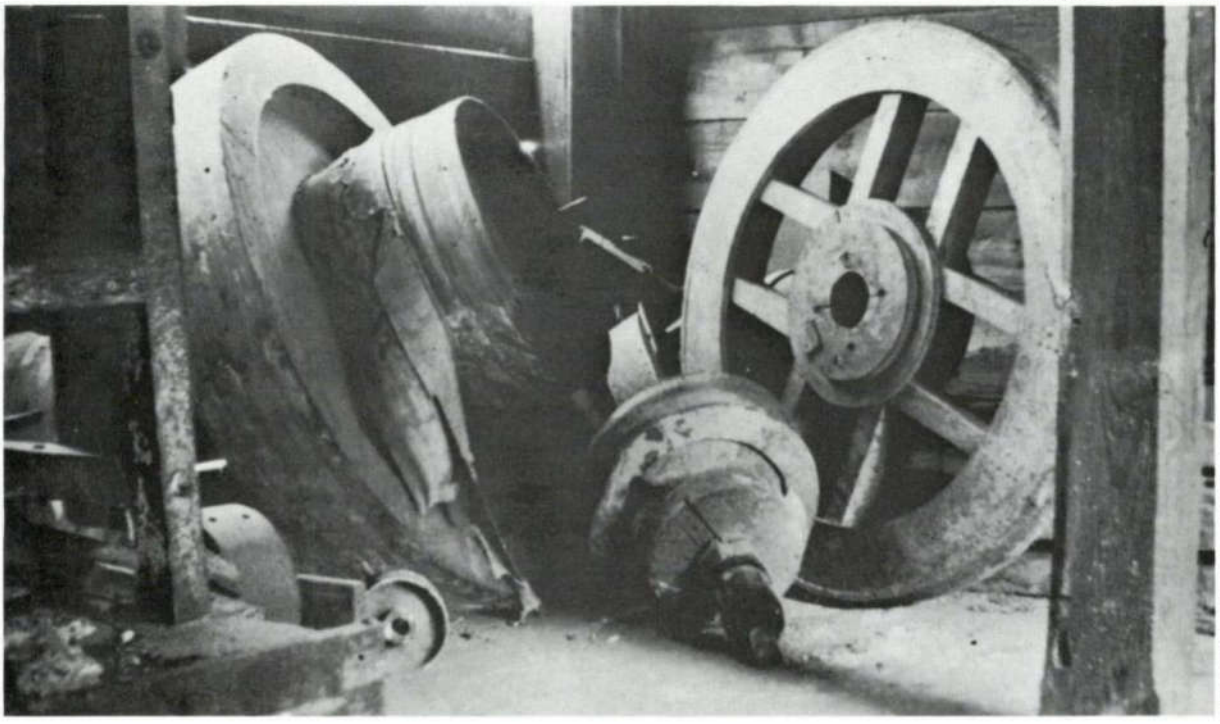
Today called the S. Howes Company, this firm still manufactures milling machinery for the flour industry.

As the cleaned grain emerged from the Eureka, it would have been fed into bucket elevators (8) which would lift the grain into a hopper (9) on the upper floor. 'Bucket elevators of the type used at Keremeos' writes Mr. Howell, 'consisted of an endless leather belt revolving over a top pulley and under a bottom pulley at a speed of about 25 revolutions per minute. Sheet iron buckets about one foot apart were fastened . . . to the belt. The belt and buckets were confined in vertical, closed wooden spouts, each of which had one or more glass windows or doors in them, for inspection and repair purposes. These spouts were usually called 'elevator legs' and were just large enough to permit the buckets to operate freely in them. The buckets filled themselves as they passed under the lower pulley and emptied as they went over the upper pulley.'

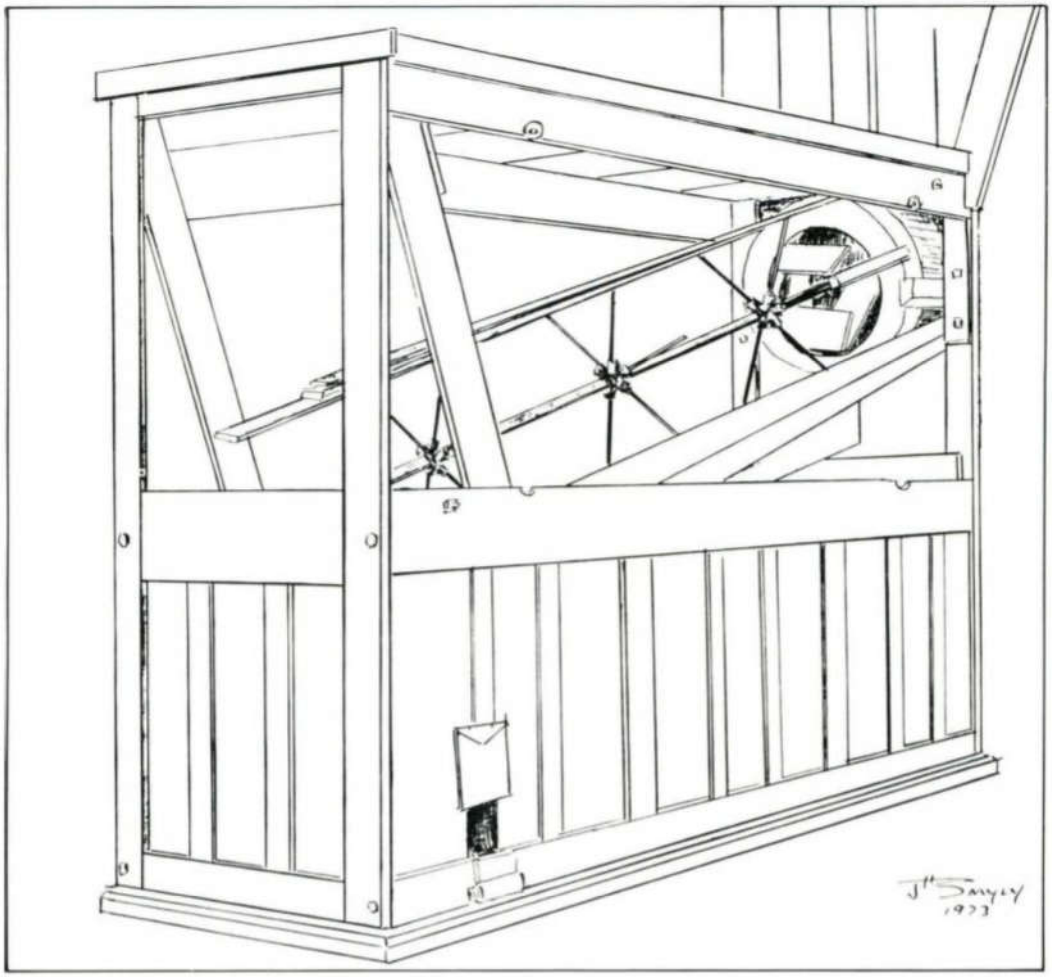
From the hopper (9) on the upper floor, the grain fed into a steel fluted grain-grinding machine (10), almost like a large coffee mill, manufactured by Barford & Perkins of Grantham, England, which was powered by a belt run off the line shaft. The resulting wheat meal would be rather too coarse for good baking, and would therefore be sent through a spout into a second milling machine (11) on the lower floor, for further grinding.

The second mill was manufactured by Jones, Ballard & Ball of Louisville, Kentucky, and was termed 'The James Jones New Process Mill', patented 1879. The patent date would suggest it was a later addition to the Keremeos mill, either replacing an earlier machine, or

Dismantled wooden drive wheels and pulleys still remain inside the old mill.



PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES, VICTORIA, B.C.



A diagram of a 19th century flour bolter or sifter which separated the ground grain into different grades of flour. The cloth mesh through which the flour passed has been omitted to show the construction of the rotating cylinder.

brought in after a few years of operation, to further refine the coarse product of the Barford & Perkins mill. Partly dismantled, the James Jones mill still stands on the lower floor. It was fitted with a stone roller, instead of the usual paired grindstones. The roller had horizontal lines cut into the surface, and it rotated against a concave-shaped stone sleeve to give the grinding action. The stones were set into a massive cast-iron framework, with a sheet-metal casing to keep the flour from sifting all over the mill as it was ground. The casing is now gone, exposing the stones to view.

The resulting wheat flour would be quite fine, and would then be transferred, perhaps by a horizontal screw (12) and a second set of bucket elevators (13) to a bin on the upper floor of the mill above the head end of the flour-dressing reel (14). Flour-dressing reels could be up to 20 feet long by about 30 inches in diameter and were designed to sift the wheat meal into two or three grades. The reel itself was simply a light cylindrical wooden framework covered with silken cloths of different degrees of fineness, the whole being enclosed in a wooden chest. The reel was raised slightly at the head end, and as the wheat meal fed into it, it revolved slowly. The finest particles went through the fine meshed cloth, were trapped by the enclosing chest, fell to the bin beneath where a screw conveyer delivered the flour to a spout and thence to a sack below. The coarser particles were similarly separated and packaged for animal feed. The remainder, the bran, passed out of the reel at its lower end.

The Keremeos mill operated for eight years under Barrington Price and his partner, Henry Nicholson. Then, in 1885, John H. Coulthard bought it and operated it until about 1896 when it ceased operation. Cheaper flour was by that time available from the large, steam-powered mills constructed in New Westminster. The Keremeos mill was put out of business.

Even though its working life was comparatively short, the mill represents a necessary step in the development of a pioneer community, and stands tribute today to the ingenuity and skill of its builders. It is uniquely Canadian, both in its construction, and in its combination of English and American machinery. For the student of industrial archaeology, or the casual visitor, it provides a fascinating insight into early industry, and illustrates an important step in the history of milling techniques. ◆

Section of Hudson's Bay Company Archives Agreement with the Government of Manitoba signed 31 July 1973.

BETWEEN

THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF ADVENTURERS OF ENGLAND TRADING INTO HUDSON'S BAY, also known as HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

(hereinafter called "The Company")
OF THE FIRST PART,

AND

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN IN RIGHT OF THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

(hereinafter called "The Government")
OF THE SECOND PART,

WHEREAS the Company has carried on business in the territories now comprising Canada from the time of its incorporation on the 2nd of May 1670 until the present day without interruption,

AND WHEREAS the Company has preserved its corporate records covering that period and since 1920 has made these records available to the public in the Hudson's Bay Archives (hereinafter called "H B Archives") located in London, England,

AND WHEREAS the Head Office of the Company was moved from London, England to Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada in 1970,

AND WHEREAS the Company desires to find a new and appropriate location for the H B Archives, which constitutes an important source for Canadian historical research,

AND WHEREAS the Government is planning to re-locate the Manitoba Archives in new facilities and a new location on Memorial Boulevard in Winnipeg,

AND WHEREAS it is desirable and in the best interests of both parties and of the people of Canada to have the H B Archives located in Canada,

AND WHEREAS the Company has decided to deposit the H B Archives in the custody of the Government and the Government has decided to accept such custody,

the parties therefore agree as follows:

HBC Archives To Come to Manitoba

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY during its 303 years of trading operations has created about 4,200 linear feet of Archives that deal mainly with its transactions in North America.

These Archives, under an agreement signed 31 July 1973 by George T. Richardson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company and Premier Ed Schreyer of Manitoba are to be transferred from Beaver House in London, to the Provincial Library and Archives Building in Winnipeg. The transfer is expected to take place during the late summer of 1974. In Manitoba, the Archives will be administered by the Provincial Archivist.

The Company has minute books, correspondence to its employees in Rupert's Land dated from 1679, journals of exploration, account books, maps, and ships' logs. The Archives will be of particular interest to the historian and geographer, the anthropologist, zoologist and genealogist.

For the first twelve years of its incorporation, the Company papers were kept by various Committee members and Company officials. In 1682 the Company leased Scrivener's Hall in London and the 'Screetore, trunck and all other things belonging to the Compa' were transferred there. The following year the Secretary reported the purchase of an iron chest with keys and padlock for its papers.

From as early as 1683 the London Committee instructed their factors on the Bay to keep 'Journalls of what hath been done in the respective factories & of all occurrances . . . that we may know how they and those under them have emploied their time'.

In 1841, Sir George Simpson, commenting on the prolixity of the Mackenzie River correspondents, noted to one offender: 'McKenzie's River has long been celebrated for its piles of correspondence, so heaped up that people have never had courage to attempt reading them. It is desirable to curtail that branch of labour as much as possible, with a due regard, however, to communicating every important fact, but that in as few words as is necessary to render the subject perfectly intelligible.'

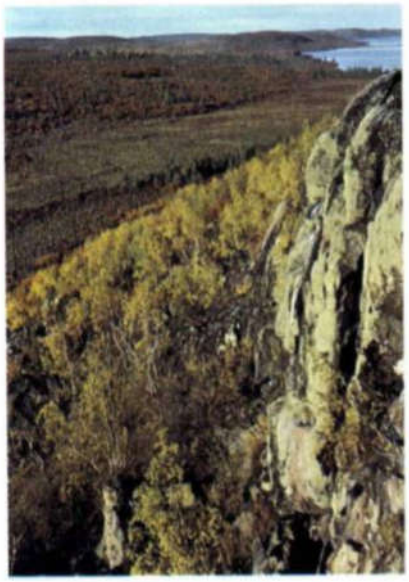
Since the early 1930s the records from 1670-1870 have been available to scholars and in 1970 the records were opened to 1900. Post-1900 records are being classified before being opened to researchers. ◆

Premier Ed Schreyer signs the Archives agreement with Governor G. T. Richardson (right). The Governor's secretary for the occasion was W. C. Lalonde of the Company's Northern Stores Department; his father's people have been in Canada since 1669, the year that the 'Nonsuch' returned to London with the cargo of furs which resulted in the formation of the Company, 2 May 1670.

GREGG BURNER

Autumn in Dogrib Country

Text and photos by Jean Morisset



IN EARLIER YEARS the country of the Dogrib Indians extended north to the outer fringe of the boreal forest. The people dwell no longer in these surroundings, but once a year in late August, the heads of families and eldest sons leave the settlements to hunt caribou herds migrating southward. The area around Mesa, Rawalpindi and Point Lakes, a few miles from the source of the Coppermine River in the Northwest Territories is the usual rendezvous where hunters await scattered groups of caribou en route to their winter grounds.

The hunters depart with the end of summer, travel and hunt through the autumn and return home with the first signs of winter. Autumn in the subarctic is a period of brief intense beauty. Rivers, lakes, and sky are a brilliant blue; the lichens and leaves on scattered stands of willow, poplar and birch are red-orange and gold.

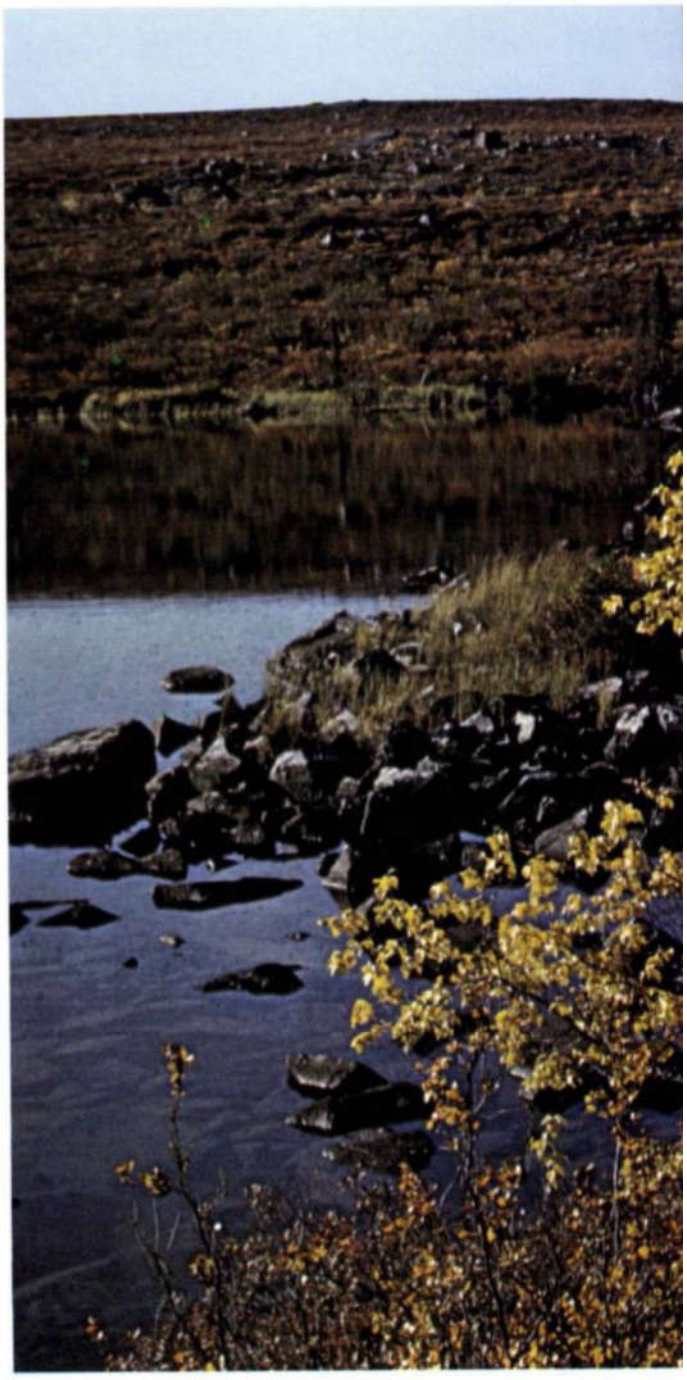
The caribou hunt is a demanding operation. A rotating base camp is established and the animals are hunted within a ten-mile radius. When a kill is made, the heavy fresh meat is packed back to camp on the hunter's back. Then begins the preparation of the meat, either by drying in the sun or smoking over open wood fires. Depending on weather – and preference in taste – the initial process will not require more than four or five

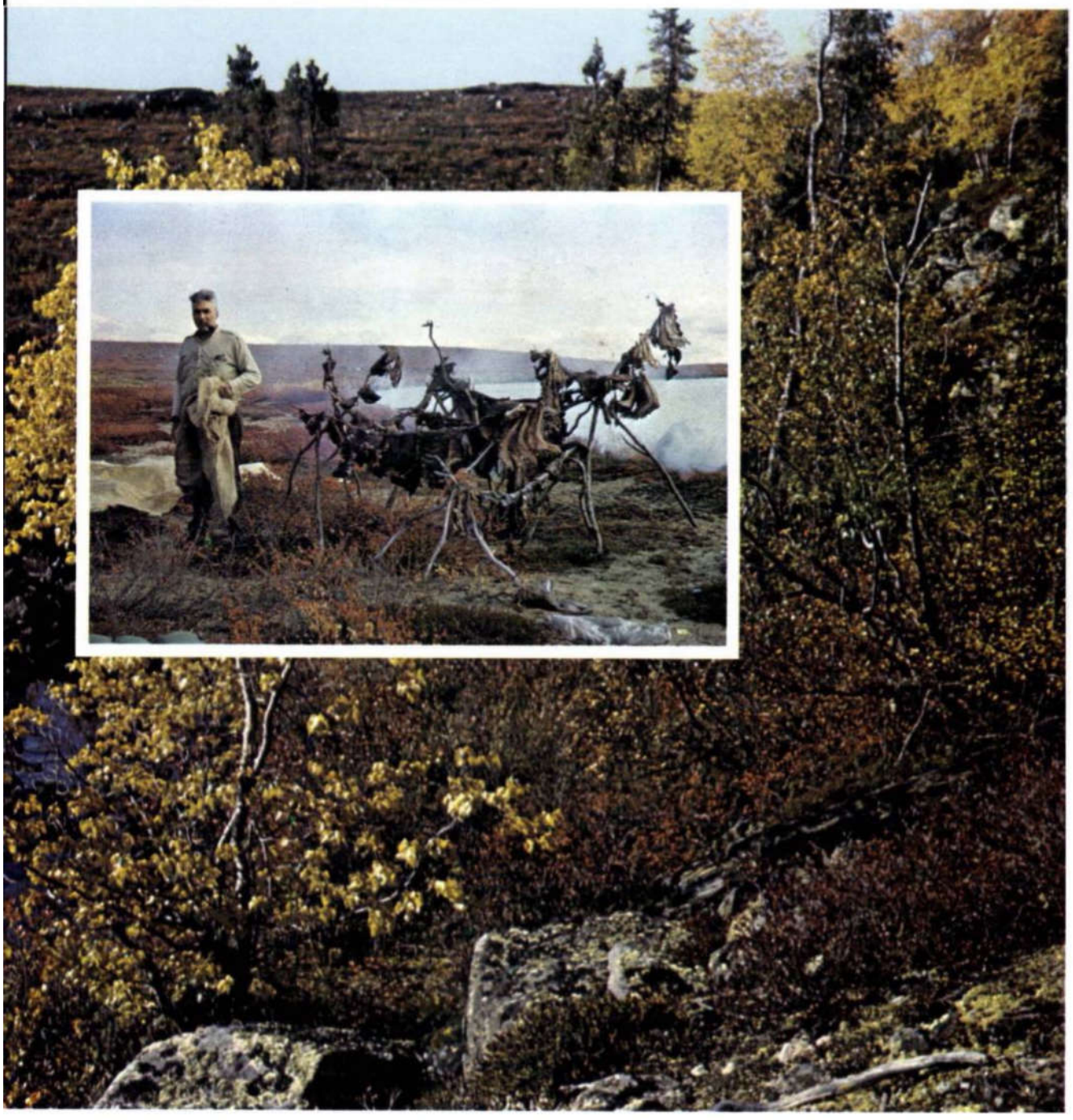
days. Later, the meat will be dried again – to preserve it, and make it light to carry. A hunt is not a hunt without taking home the spoils.

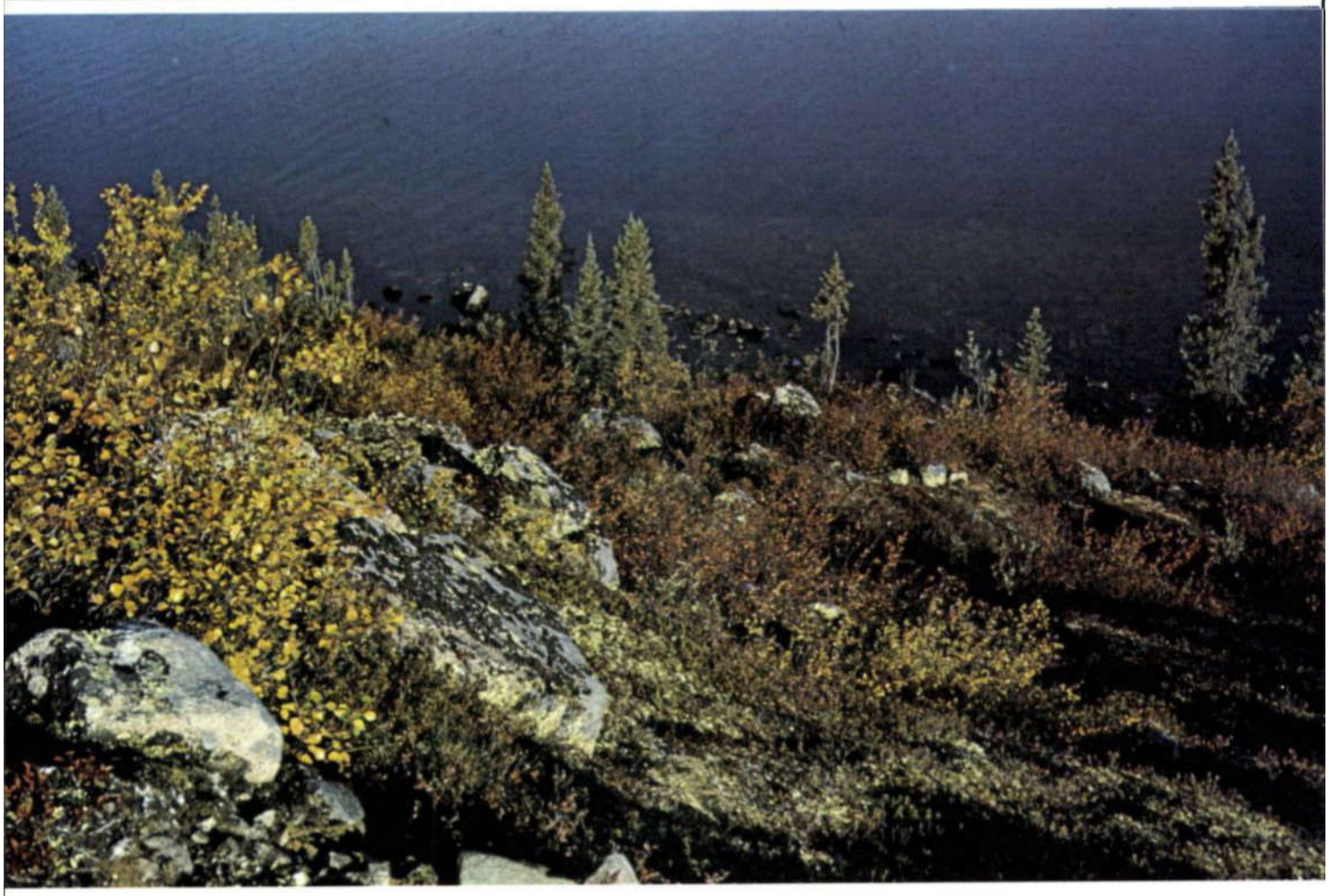
At the end of the season, the men begin their long journey south through the network of rivers, portages, and lakes. Every portage – many take an hour or more – has to be made twice for the load far exceeds the carrying capacity of a man on a single trip.

Once everyone is back in the main Dogrib settlement of Fort Rae, small feasts are held to celebrate the return of the hunters and the meat is consumed in a matter of days. Gone is the hunt, gone is the caribou meat and gone is autumn. But many stories remain to enliven the long winter nights. ◆

Jean Morisset of St-Michel Bellechasse, Quebec, is a geographer who has travelled widely in northern Canada and, in 1966, lived among the Dogrib Indians for six months.







The Reflector Oven.

SOURDOUGH

Photographs and text by CALVIN RUTSTRUM, author of many books and articles on living in the wilderness.

THE TASTE OF SOURDOUGH has so titillated appetites in past decades, it was bound, eventually, to arouse not only popular interest, but the interest of science, governments, modern enterprise – even the gourmet. The United States Government has seen fit to appropriate a substantial sum for research into sourdough, in order that science might try to unravel the mysteries of its strange and valuable organisms. A West Coast firm, seeing the merits of sourdough, is now turning out about 75,000 loaves of sourdough bread daily and its popularity is spreading rapidly.

We might presume that the inception of sourdough was an accident. Perhaps someone in prehistory by a stroke of good fortune delayed for several days baking a stone-ground flour dough mixture, and found that the leavening process which ensued, not only made the bread taste better but made it easier to eat.

Some, no doubt, would prefer updating the origin of sourdough to a time or place less conjectural. The re-emergence of sourdough in the early life on the North American Continent has, of course, had much to do with romanticizing it, and evoking interest in its unique food properties. So much a part of wilderness life did sourdough become that prospectors, trappers, and others were often referred to as *Sourdoughs*, though the appelation clung more to the loner who panned gold in the streams of the Yukon and Alaska.

Early in this century, wherever you visited a backwoods or frontier cabin, there on a permanent warming ledge not far from the stove often stood the sourdough crock, generally with a richly mellowed, wooden cover. If the batch were of sufficient age – some were reputed to have been going for decades – the inner crock was usually so encrusted as to resemble in magnum size, the bowl of a long-used corncob pipe. Some old-timers would insist that if you did not have this built-up encrustment, your sourdough was much 'too raw' to make good biscuits or flapjacks.

On the wilderness trail in earlier days, the sourdough pail was conspicuously in evidence – a statement that

should be taken quite literally for an obvious reason. Sourdough could not be contained in an air-tight vessel without exploding from the pressure of the carbon dioxide gas created. Whenever you saw a load of gear being carried over a portage, gripped in the canoeist's hand by the bail was the traditional sourdough pail, ever protected from the vicissitudes of rough wilderness travel. Alternative methods of carrying the sourdough pail have commonly been in use – either securing it in the grub box or burying it in the flour sack – neither method being wholly satisfactory.

Why not, I thought, put the sourdough in an air-tight container (if a suitable pop-off valve could be provided to relieve the pressure), then carry the container in a packsack. It worked well on a shelf in the cabin, the valve emitting domestically assuring sounds comparable to a singing teakettle as fermentation was under way. On the next canoe voyage, into the packsack it went, valve side up. Though the sourdough batter splashing around in the container caused the valve to change its treble tune to basso murmurs and gurgles, there seemed to be no imminent chance of failure. After a few hours – there was silence.

Then it happened. An explosion. The valve had clogged. Toting the packsack over a portage, I suddenly felt something like a giant foot landing squarely on my middle back. For a full day I was salvaging equipment deeply impregnated with sourdough.

It is only natural that sourdough with its long tradition and rather complex microbiology should pick up both a share of humour and strange legend. Sourdough starters, as they generally are called, have been handed down to brides from one generation to another, which helped, no doubt, to fulfil their need for 'something old, something new, something borrowed, something blue.' Then, we have the allegorical old-timer up on 'Shagamoose Creek' who has an inimitable sourdough starter passed down to him from his kinfolk just before he left his European homeland.

Thus, in endless legendary form, from up on the Yukon to down on the Missouri, come sourdough starters – inherited cultures – some of these formulas guarded with great secrecy, though you were generally welcome to a cupful as a starter for your own batch.

Sourdough, generally speaking, is a leavening and flavouring agent for breadstuffs, produced by the fermentation of various batters; plain flour and water; flour, sugar and water; flour, yeast, sugar and water; flour, sugar, water, and lactic acid (in the form of buttermilk); or preferably the whole combination of these – flour, yeast, sugar, water, and buttermilk. No salt is used in the initial stock starter, since it tends to inhibit fermentation. Salt is added later in preparing the breadstuffs recipes.

The choice sourdough receptacle is a crock, but any acid-resisting vessel will do. Depending on the quantity of sourdough required, one-half or all of a small household package of dry yeast is dissolved in from one to two quarts of warm – not hot – water. This is allowed to stand for about ten minutes, then stirred to make sure the yeast is dissolved. To this is added a cup of buttermilk, a tablespoonful or two of sugar, and enough flour to give the consistency of pancake batter. It should be allowed to stand at room temperature for about three days or longer before using it in the various breadstuff mixes. After this three-day period, it will have a fragrant, distinctive odour – one you will pleasantly remember. There will be a slight separation – a watery liquid floating on top. This should be stirred until smooth again, but not over-stirred or beaten because excessive agitation releases some of the gas, the leavening agent which lightens the breadstuffs.

To keep the sourdough going over any desired period of time, for every cupful removed to make a batch of biscuits or pancakes, the same amount and consistency of water and flour only are added to replenish the stock sourdough. From time to time the sourdough may need a little activating. This can best be done by adding another cupful or less of buttermilk.

If, in time, the stock sourdough loses its wholesome, pleasant odour, dump it and start again. The idea of continuing a sourdough mixture for years or generations as a traditional concept, is something that one might well avoid – cultists to the contrary notwithstanding. Sourdough batches can on occasion become polluted, but not necessarily so under ordinarily sanitary conditions, where the container had originally been well scalded. Chances are that no real harm will be experienced from eating a batch gone a bit awry, but it will certainly not make the delectable breadstuffs that a wholesome ferment will provide. Some old-timers have been guilty of throwing back into sourdough starters, left-over pieces of pancakes and biscuits. This *can* become a polluting hazard.

Buttermilk is available in dry form (valuable in remote wilderness areas) which needs only the addition of water for reconstituting. Yeast is also to be had in dry granulated form.

It is, of course, possible to create a sourdough starter with only flour and water. However, the flour, water, sugar, yeast, and buttermilk method should be tried against the plain flour and water method, if all of these ingredients are available. It is this more complex sourdough formula that modern researchers in laboratories have worked out to our distinct advantage.

Most people eat breads every day made with yeast, which raises the question of the difference between sourdough bread and that made with common yeast. The basic difference lies in the fact that the brief time required to leaven common commercial baker's bread, or homemade bread, would not be sufficient to bring about the microbiological properties that become inherent in the prolonged sourdough fermentation. The first few hours that yeast works to leaven ordinary bread do, of

course, bring about leavening, but offer less of the flavour-producing, microbial change inherent in actual sourdough. It is the extended fermentation, vastly increasing the number of micro-organisms, which provides the delectable flavour of sourdough breadstuffs and their other valuable properties.

We haven't as yet had a complete scientific breakdown on the antibiotic, the vitamin, and the further properties of sourdough, but I am inclined to believe from personal experience, after using sourdough over a half century of wilderness living, that sourdough possesses something of therapeutic value. A trapper long associated with sourdough, said: 'You will never get a bellyache from it and if you have a bellyache it will damn well cure it.'

Such a cure is something too complex to consider here. The reader experimenting on his own might come up with a conclusion on this point for himself after moderate use. I can only say that whether actually therapeutic in value, or not, the complex nature of sourdough seems to work comfortably at least in complement with one's disgestive processes. Baking powder breads when used too long, create biliousness. When sourdough is added to baking powder bread recipes or baking powder is used in conjunction with sourdough, the acid sourdough neutralizes the alkalinity of the baking powder, thus overcoming this ill effect.

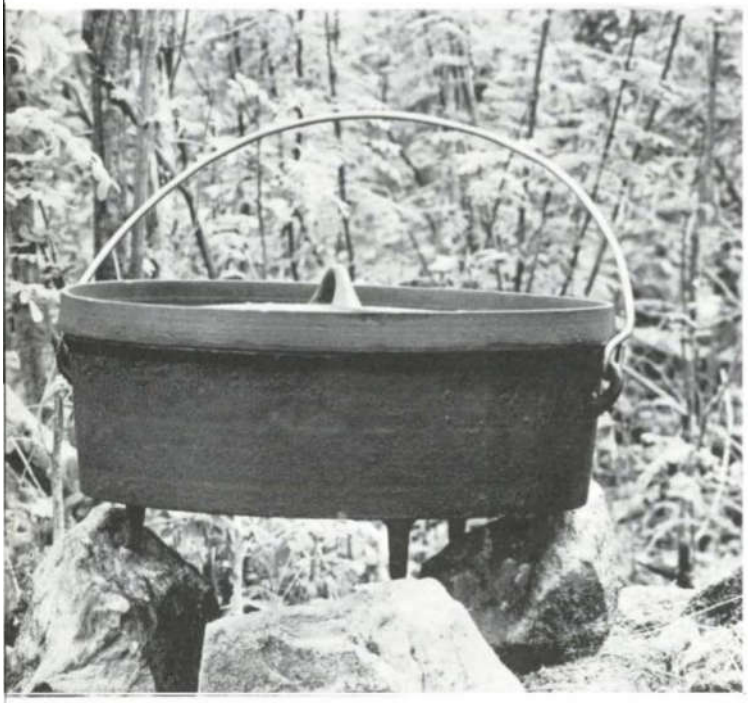
Experiment has to be the sourdough byword. Whatever sourdough combinations are used, the most critical factor is the *amount of baking soda or baking powder that is added to that portion of the fermented mixture* which has been taken from the crock in preparing a recipe. (Never put soda or baking powder in the stock sourdough itself). One-half level teaspoon of soda to the cup of sourdough taken from the stock for a recipe is a good starting point, but the soda should gradually be reduced until a minimal amount still maintains sufficient leavening. Also, I would suggest that in testing the end product of sourdough for taste, baking powder be substituted for the commonly used soda. When using baking powder instead of soda, a level teaspoon to the cup of sourdough is an experimental starting point, and this amount of baking powder may be altered to suit the degree of leavening and one's taste. Generally, in the use of baking powder, the amount will be increased rather than decreased. The point is to avoid any predominantly soda or baking-powder taste in the end product. Age, temperature, and type of sourdough used govern the variations which determine the quantity of soda or baking powder required, though the quantities given in an initial starter batch will not be far off.

As to recipes, you can go to any cookbook and find whatever you like, be it biscuits, waffles, pancakes, or doughnuts, and follow the cookbook's mixing, rising, and baking-out instructions – leaving out the leavening agent called for in the recipe and substituting the sourdough-soda or sourdough-baking powder combinations. The thing to remember is that no special recipes need be followed to complement sourdough starters. Apply sourdough to whatever bread recipes you like most.

The common method of using sourdough in backwoods cabins is to keep it at 'room temperature'. This could mean anything from tropical heat to fifty below. It is possible to keep sourdough in any wide temperature range and still come up with passable breadstuffs, though it is best, if after first reaching peak fermentation of a few days to a week, it is kept in a refrigerator should one be available. Sourdough can without damage be allowed to freeze solid after reaching peak fermentation, but the thawing for use would, of course, be a nuisance that one would tolerate only when being temporarily absent from an unheated cabin in freezing weather, or out on the trail. In either case, sourdough should be divided into recipe-sized portions and frozen. When thawing for use, warm but do not heat. Breadstuffs for the winter trail, are, of course, best baked ahead of time, then thawed and warmed to serve.

On wilderness trails, breadstuffs will largely be bannock, biscuits, and flapjacks. On canoe journeys and the winter dogsled and snowmobile trips, a frying pan for flapjacks and bannock, or a reflector oven for biscuits, will likely be the equipment carried. The wilderness traveller, usually dispenses with the reflector oven and relies on bannock made in the frying pan. On the cattle range and packhorse trips, the traditional piece of equipment is the Dutch oven. All of these baking units adapt well to the use of sourdough.

The Dutch Oven.



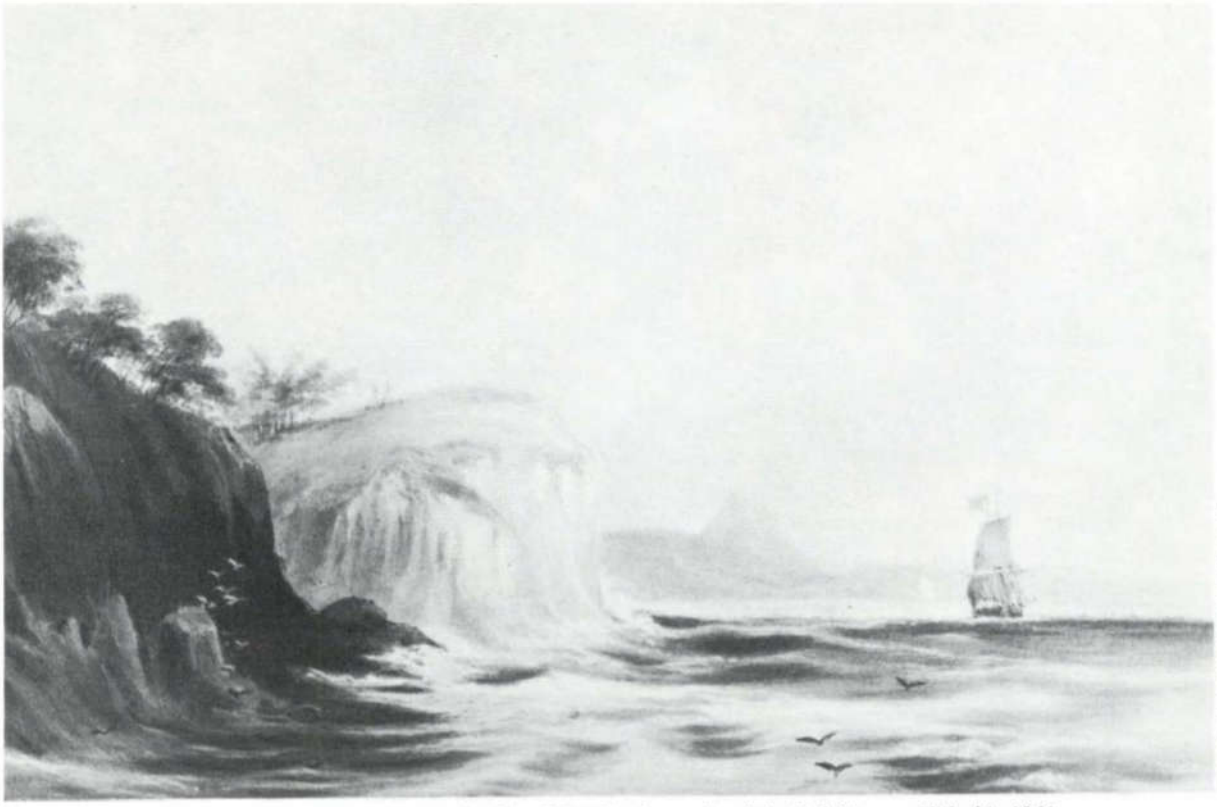
The Bannock Pan.

Sourdough bannock should be stiff enough to prop up in a frying pan about six to eight inches before a flaming wood fire, to bake by reflection. The bannock is turned in the pan to brown both sides. Biscuits in a reflector oven are set about eight inches from an open fire and baked until brown. The Dutch oven is an iron kettle, usually 16 quart size. It has short legs, a high-rimmed cover for holding hot coals, and a trivet which is placed inside on the bottom of the Dutch oven for keeping foods from direct contact with the bottom. Sourdough biscuits are put in a pan, the pan is set on the trivet in the Dutch oven, and covered. A fire of wood is burned down to a bed of coals while the biscuits rise, after which the Dutch oven is set on the coals with some of the coals heaped on the cover.

Three or four days before starting out in warm weather on a wilderness trail, a sourdough starter should be developed in a crock if handy, and on the day of departure a portion of it transferred to a stainless steel pail with a loosely fitting cover. Such a pail with a secure bail can be had from wilderness equipment outfitters.

If difficulty is encountered in obtaining a stainless steel pail, it is well to line the substitute aluminum or iron pail with beeswax to prevent the acid sourdough from attacking the metal. The wax is melted in the receptacle, well covered, agitated, and then drained. In early days some sourdough vessels were made of wood, and such a container, made square, can be provided today by any craftsman with a few pieces of wood and some waterproof glue. When these early wooden vessels had prolonged use, they absorbed enough of the sourdough elements even when washed, to accelerate fermentation of subsequent batches. In fact, there was a general feeling that a sourdough vessel had to be 'broken in' before it could have its most effective use.

Sourdough's increasing contribution to our dietary needs now and in the future, holds speculative interest. Our credulity may not allow us to go so far as the traditionalist who said 'Something lingering is wrong with anybody who has gone through much of life without sourdough.' Yet, we might pose the possibility that if anyone wants to learn what an almost euphoric feeling of gastric well-being is like, let him get going with a sourdough starter. ◆



PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES, VICTORIA, B.C.

Cape Disappointment at the mouth of the Columbia, from a sketch by H. J. Warre published in 1846.

THE 1813 EXPEDITION TO ASTORIA

BY BARRY M. GOUGH

THE AUTUMN OF 1813 was a season of great anxiety at Astoria, the trading post and shipping depot of John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company near the mouth of the Columbia River. Great Britain and the United States were at war. For Astorians the question was how to maintain their trade and fort in the face of impending attack from a North West Company-Royal Navy expedition sent round the Horn from London. For certain Nor'Westers who had already reached Astoria overland from the Athabaska Country, the question was how to become masters of the rich Columbia trade.

How the Nor'Westers eventually acquired the post from the Astorians by purchase (but nonetheless under threat of armed British power) was a significant development at the westernmost portion of the North American fur empire. It laid the basis for a profitable trade enjoyed first by the Nor'Westers until 1821 and then by their successor, the Hudson's Bay Company. This period ended when the Oregon Boundary Treaty of 1846 forced the British traders northward. It revealed how, during the War of 1812, naval support over long, vulnerable sea lanes was essential to carry on the pursuit of trade.

The origins of North West Company interest in the trade of the Pacific slope date from the late eighteenth century. In 1793, Alexander Mackenzie reached the Pacific overland and was followed by other Nor'Westers who began trading west of the Rockies. Soon Company directors began to talk of the 'Columbian Enterprise'. This imaginative scheme envisaged an overland route from Canada across the Rocky Mountains and then down the rivers flowing into the Pacific. At the river

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mouths, vessels from England or Montreal would deposit supplies and receive furs for markets in Canton, Macao, and Kamchatka. If implemented, this 'golden round' – from England to the Northwest Coast to China – could give the Nor'Westers an advantage in the long contest with the Hudson's Bay Company for mastery of the Canadian trade.

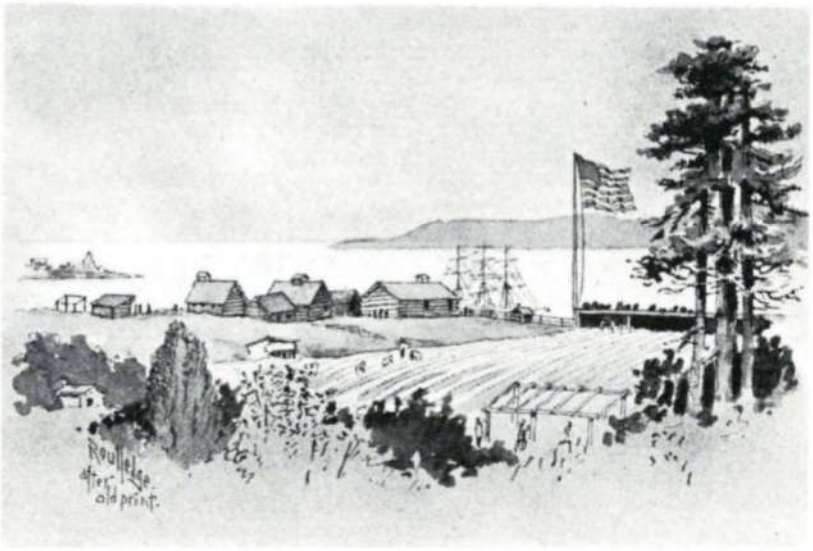
In the winter of 1807-08, the Nor'Wester William M'Gillivray wrote in his account of Company trade, preserved in the library of the Royal Commonwealth Society in London, that the fur trade was the most profitable branch of commerce carried on between British America and Great Britain, and accordingly demanded the proper attention of the mother country. He also wrote of plans to 'form a general establishment for the trade of that country on the Columbia river, which . . . receives and conducts to the Ocean all the waters that rise West of the Mountains.' And he concluded:

> Should the Company succeed in this project, a new field will be open for the consumption of British manufactured goods; and a vast country and population made dependent on the British Empire. It is conceived however that all this cannot be accomplished without the aid of the British Government; which will scarce be withheld from an effort of such commercial and political consequence.

The Northwest Company that year (1807) launched its 'Columbia Enterprise' sending David Thompson west to open a route to the Pacific and to establish trading posts west of the continental divide. He built first at Kootenay House at the headwaters of the Columbia on Windermere Lake, and in the autumn of the following year (1808) he sent Finan McDonald to build a second post at Kootenay Falls in modern Idaho. Kullyspell House on Pend d'Oreille Lake and Salish House on the Clark Fork were established in 1809. The fifth post, Spokane House, was built by Finan McDonald and Jacques Finlay in 1810 at the junction of the Little Spokane and Spokane Rivers. However, at the same time, Montreal agents of the Company were distressed to hear rumours of Astor's expeditions fitting out at New York and Boston for the Columbia River. If successful, Astor would control the fur trade of that river and much of the hinterland. Quickly, the Montreal partners proposed to their London associates that the British Government should assist the traders in establishing, 'either from the interior of the North West Country or by Sea', a permanent post on the Columbia. This was to be done with the co-operation of the East India Company, which held the monopoly on the licensing of ships trading to China. The Montreal partners also warned that American control of the trading region, coupled with the advantage of the priorities of Lewis and Clark's explorations, could mean eventual American ownership of the Columbia territory. Subsequently, the matter was brought to the attention of the British Foreign Office in April 1810, but had no effect. And another request for help was similarly dismissed.

The Nor'Westers' intelligence was reliable. In June 1810, Astor had formed the Pacific Fur Company and organized two expeditions, one to reach Oregon by sea, the other by land. Astor's first ship, the *Tonquin*, sailed round Cape Horn to arrive at the mouth of the Columbia in March 1811, where her crew constructed Fort Astoria. When David Thompson and other Nor'Westers reached this outpost on 15 July, after exploring the waters of the Columbia as a possible viaduct of trade, they found that the Americans had won the race to the mouth of the Columbia. The first Astorians from overland reached the post six months later, on 18 January 1812.

The war between Britain and the United States, declared in June 1812, introduced a new influence into the trading rivalry of the Nor'Westers and the Astorians.



Astoria, 1812, with the American flag flying.

In August of that year, North West Company agents in Montreal, acting on the basis of a resolution passed at the annual meeting at Fort William, urged their London partners to press the British government for convoy support for a Company ship, the *Isaac Todd*, which they planned to send to the Columbia River via Cape Horn. The outbreak of war ended the British Ministry's indifference to the pleas of the North West Company. The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty discussed the proposed mission with the fur traders, Donald McTavish and John McDonald of Garth. As a result, their Lordships agreed that the 36-gun frigate *Phoebe* should be dispatched to convoy the fur-trading vessel to the North West Coast and to clear the coast of hostile vessels.

The 20-gun *Isaac Todd*, bearing *letters-of-marque*, was the first ship of the Company's Columbian Enterprise. 'It would have been better if she had had only six guns well managed' McDonald recorded in his *Autobiographical Notes, 1791-1816*, published in *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* by L. R. Masson, 'then she might have sailed better. We had on board cannon balls enough for a line of battle ships. She proved to be a miserable sailer, with a miserable commander, a rascally crew and three mates . . . . We had on board half a dozen good Canadian *Voyageurs*, with a Sandwich Islander and four clerks: the *voyageurs* to make and man a canoe, the Islander to guide us into the river Columbia, where he had been before.' The *Isaac Todd* had been fitted out by Fraser, McGillivrays and Company of London, with McTavish and McDonald as part owners and supercargoes.

She left Portsmouth on 25 March 1813 in the company of the *Phoebe* to seize Astoria and then form a British settlement at the mouth of the Columbia River. In the meantime, an overland expedition of 100 fur traders led by John George McTavish and Alexander Henry the Younger, left Fort William and were to meet the ships on the Northwest Coast sometime during the period May to August 1813. McTavish and Henry were both partners in the Company, and they had instructions to build several trading posts west of the Rockies, and then proceed to Astoria. McTavish carried across the continent a letter stating that the *Isaac Todd* was 'accompanied by a frigate, to take and destroy everything that is American on the N.W. Coast.'

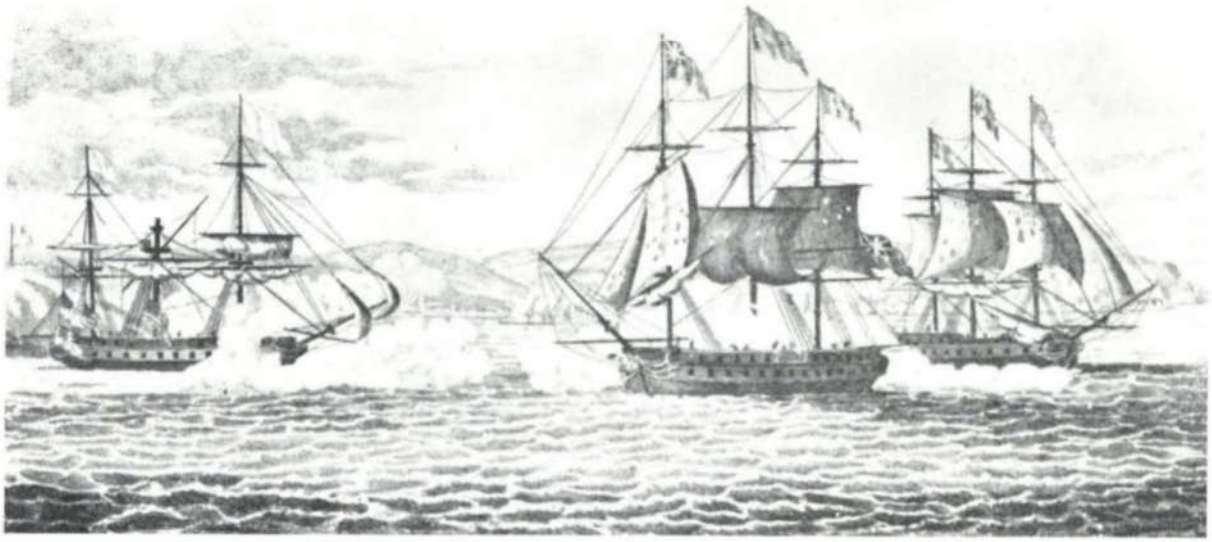
The Admiralty, knowing the advantages of secrecy, took every precaution to keep quiet the objective of the maritime expedition. They instructed Captain James Hillyar of H.M.S. *Phoebe* not to open his first set of sealed orders until he was off the Scilly Isles. The second set of orders, marked 'most secret', were to be delivered to him at the British naval base at Rio de Janeiro. On 10 June 1813, at the end of a hazardous first leg of the voyage, the *Phoebe* led the *Isaac Todd* into Rio de Janeiro Harbour. There, the Commander-in-Chief on the South American station, Rear-Admiral (later Admiral) Manley Dixon, learned that Captain Hillyar had experienced great difficulty with the 'rascally crew' of the *Isaac Todd*. Seven of them had deserted on account of her unseaworthy condition. Captain Fraser Smith of the *Isaac Todd* had quarreled with McTavish and McDonald. In addition, the ship had proved to be a heavy sailer: she was badly stowed, heavily rigged and carried too many guns on deck. Her performance was such that Dixon had declared with disgust 'No alteration, I understand, will make her sail even tolerably.'

Because of the intended secrecy of the expedition, Admiral Dixon did not know the object of the mission until the ships reached Rio de Janeiro. He became furious when the disgruntled fur traders, McTavish and McDonald, evidently ignorant of the value of secrecy, 'made generally known' the destination of the ships. Dixon knew that the United States frigate *Essex*, mounting 40 guns, was at large and was destroying British whalers in the Pacific, and he decided to increase the Royal Navy's protection for the *Isaac Todd*. So he ordered two sloops, the *Racoon* and the *Cherub*, both of which had been originally destined for the South Pacific to protect the whalers, to join the *Phoebe* in convoying the *Isaac Todd* to the Pacific.

At Rio the crews readied the four vessels for the arduous voyage round the Horn. Dixon had government stores in the *Isaac Todd* transferred to the safe *Phoebe*. He strengthened the complements of the *Racoon* and *Cherub* by a total of 65 to ensure that the naval vessels would be sufficiently strong to defeat the Americans at the mouth of the Columbia should the *Isaac Todd* fall behind. But there were delays. Two officers left the *Isaac Todd* and replacements had to be found and discontented sailors from the same ship had to be held in custody. Although every effort was made to get underway as soon as possible, the four ships did not weigh anchor until 6 July 1813.

Four days after leaving Rio de Janeiro, Captain Hillyar opened the Admiralty's 'most secret orders'. 'The principal object of the service on which you are employed' ran the orders, 'is to protect and render every assistance in your power to the British traders from Canada, and to destroy, and if possible totally annihilate any settlements which the Americans may have formed either on the Columbia River or on the neighbouring coasts.'

The plan required the *Phoebe* and *Isaac Todd* to arrive together after a passage from Rio to the Columbia 'without touching anywhere'. But in the event of separation or difficulty, the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands were designated as a rendezvous because they would be the best source of supplies. Furthermore, to meet there would conceal the mission better than to anchor in a port on the Pacific side of the Americas. As an alternate meeting place, the Island of Juan Fernandez off the Chilean coast was mentioned. The Admiralty orders also required that one of the two fur-trading partners should



U.S.S. 'Essex' and H.M.S. 'Phoebe' and 'Cherub' off Valparaiso, Chile, 1814.
From David Porter's 'A Voyage in the South Seas, in the years 1812, 1813 and 1814'.

be placed aboard the *Phoebe* so that the naval ship could complete its mission even though the *Isaac Todd* arrived late or failed to reach the mouth of the Columbia. Consequently, McDonald and five Company servants were transferred to the *Phoebe* while McTavish, the chief Nor'Wester, remained in the *Isaac Todd*.

The threat to this expedition was the American frigate *Essex*, carrying 40 guns. After limited success against British shipping in the South Atlantic, the captain of the *Essex*, David Porter, had decided to venture alone into the Pacific and survive on the prizes he could capture. Provisioning hurriedly at Valparaiso, Chile, in March 1813, the *Essex* sailed to the Galapagos Islands, then the centre of whaling in the Pacific. From April until October 1813, the *Essex* seized twelve of twenty British whalers reported in that ocean. Then, to strengthen his force, Porter fitted out one of these captured whalers as a privateer to accompany the *Essex*. The *Essex Junior*, as she was named, carried 20 guns and 90 men.

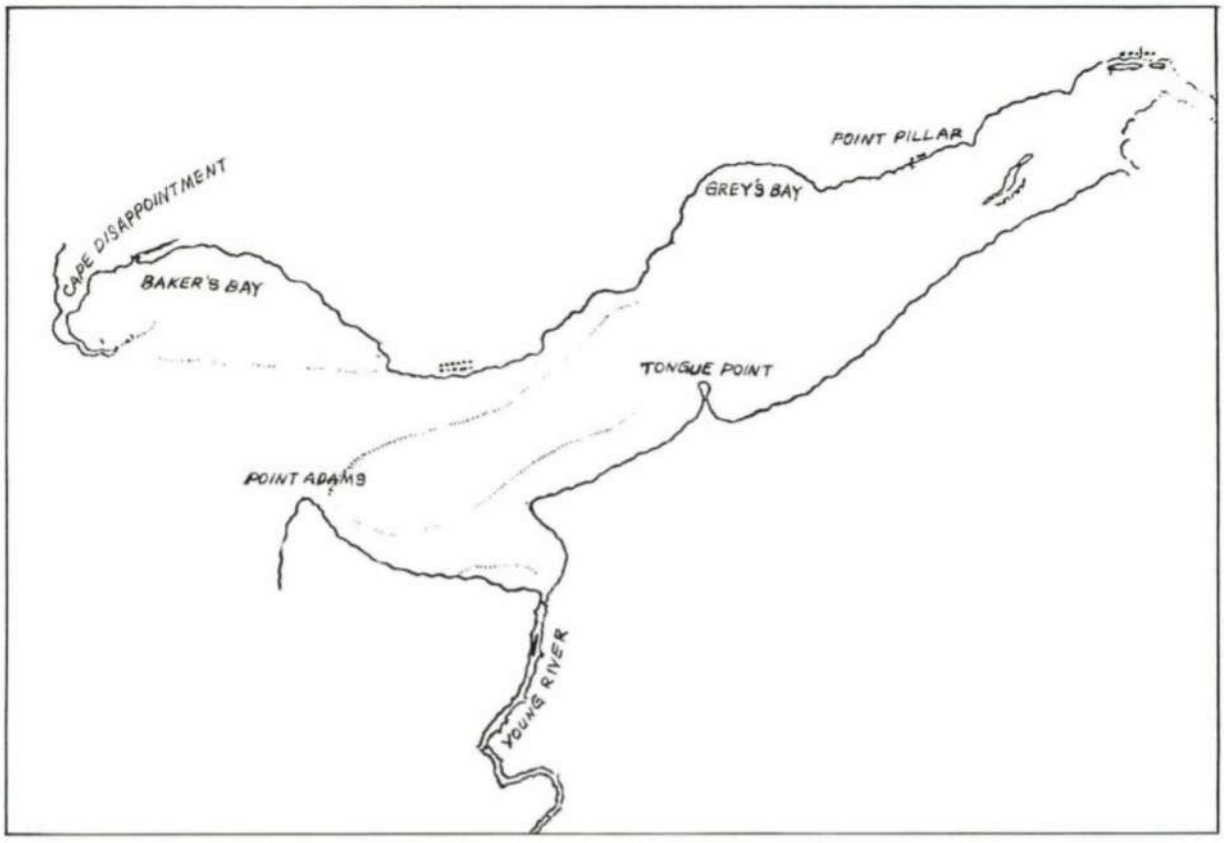
Meanwhile, the British convoy had sailed for Cape Horn in the dead of winter, a perilous passage even at the best of seasons.

'We had very rough weather off the Faulkland Islands' McDonald recorded, 'and were nearly six weeks before we could double Cape Horn, and were driven half way to the Cape of Good Hope. We lost sight of the Isaac Todd in a gale; our rendezvous was Juan Fernandez. We at last doubled the Cape under top sails. It was winter there, the deck was one sheet of ice for six weeks and our sails one frozen sheet.'

At Juan Fernandez, Robinson Crusoe's island, Captain Hillyar learned from a Spanish brig that the *Essex* had taken 100 distressed seamen, possibly from the *Isaac Todd*, to Guayaquil on the coast of Ecuador. He also learned, from Spanish colonial authorities, that the entrance of the Columbia was too shallow to admit a frigate, but that a sloop could cross the bars. He therefore ordered McDonald and other North West Company servants and stores to be transferred once more, this time from the *Phoebe* to the *Racoon*. Then, after being at Juan Fernandez for a week, the squadron weighed anchor. On 2 October near the equator, the *Phoebe* and *Cherub* turned towards the South American west coast to hunt for the *Essex*, leaving the *Racoon* to pursue alone the mission to the Columbia River.

In March 1814, outside of Valparaiso Harbour, the *Phoebe* and *Cherub* won a hard-fought engagement with Captain Porter, and the *Essex* surrendered. By this single engagement, the Royal Navy had gained the mastery of the Pacific.

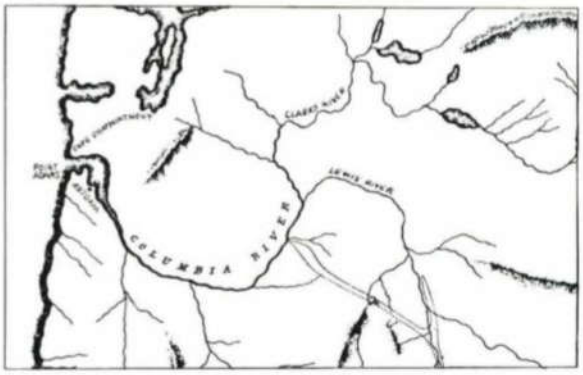
In sharp contrast to the British support for the Nor'Westers, American naval assistance for the Astorians was not possible. As the war progressed the British had



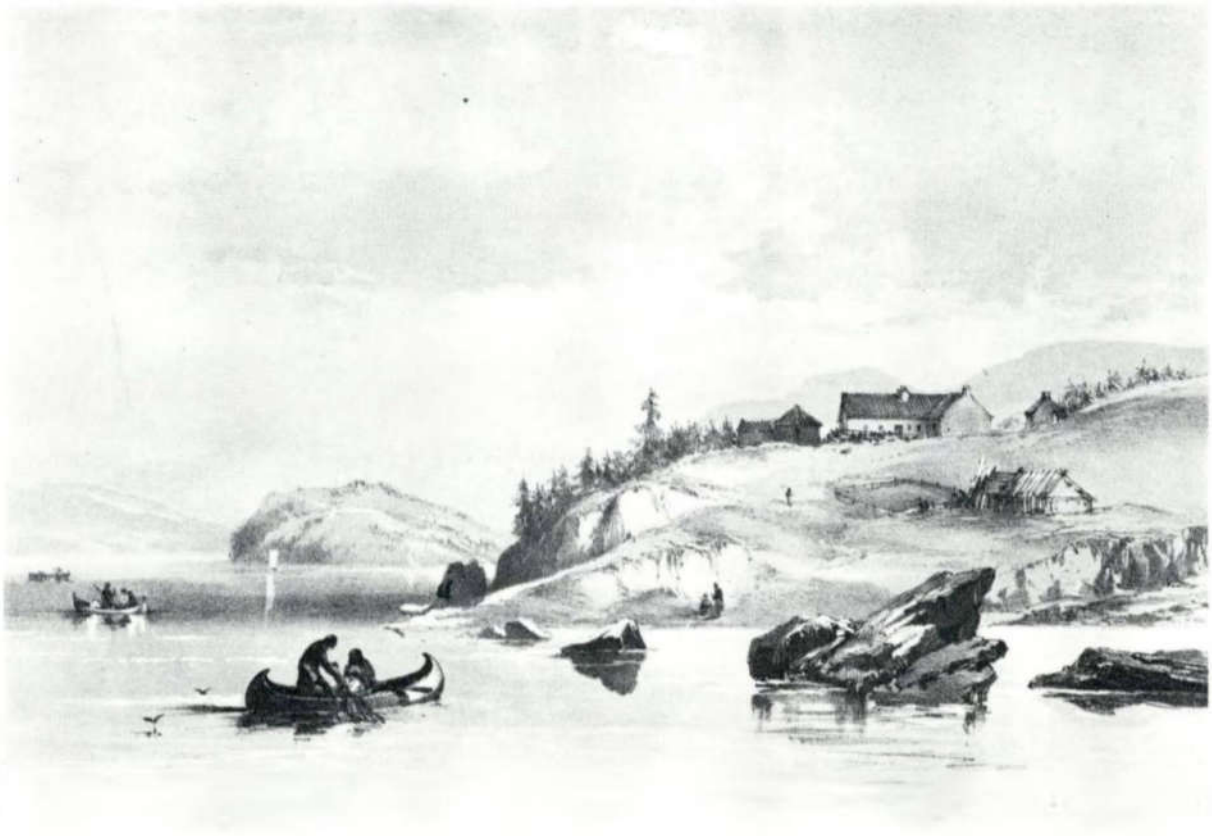
The entrance to the Columbia drawn from a chart by Lieutenant Broughton of the 'Chatham', 1792. A copy of Broughton's chart was aboard the 'Racoon'.

gained increasing superiority at sea and established a blockade of American ports. Astor pleaded in 1813 for a warship to protect his enterprise, and although the Secretary of the Navy responded by arranging for a frigate to go to the North Pacific, the British blockade prevented her sailing. Astor then chartered two other vessels but neither could succour Astoria.

These reverses dashed Astor's hopes of maintaining the essential link with Astoria by sea. At Astoria the partners of the Pacific Fur Company became increasingly aware of their plight. The information which the Nor'Wester John George McTavish and party carried overland from Fort William to the Columbia – that the *Isaac Todd* and a Royal Navy frigate were bound for the river mouth to destroy the American post – convinced the Astorians that their position was untenable. Equally alarming news came from the Sandwich and the Marquesas Islands. Wilson P. Hunt, the chief agent of the Pacific Fur Company, brought word of the outbreak of war between the two nations. He also brought information from Porter that an even larger force than originally expected, a frigate, two sloops and a merchantman, were bound for the Northwest Coast to conquer Astoria. This was, as Washington Irving wrote in his book *Astoria*, 'the death warrant of unfortunate Astoria'. Forced either to sell to the Nor'Westers or face the guns of a Royal Navy ship and the *Isaac Todd*, the



Astoria, from a section of map in Washington Irving's book 'Astoria'.



H.B.C. ARCHIVES

Sketch of Fort George by Henry J. Warre, 1845.

Astorians signed a bill of sale on 16 October 1813. By this arrangement, the Pacific Fur Company transferred its establishments, furs and stocks on hand in the Columbia and Thompson Rivers to the Nor'Westers for a modest price agreed to between the two parties. According to Irving 'furs and merchandise of all kinds in the country, belonging to Mr. Astor passed into the possession of the Northwest Company at about a third of their real value. . . . Not quite $40,000 were allowed for furs worth upwards of $100,000. Beaver was valued at two dollars per skin, though worth five dollars . . . and for several kinds of furs nothing was allowed.'

Meanwhile, the *Racoon* was making her way northward when during the cleaning of cannon a tremendous explosion of gunpowder shook the ship. Many men were scorched, including McDonald; six died, and two marines and one boy were rendered unfit for service.

By 30 November 1813 she had reached the mouth of the Columbia, crossed the bar in smooth water, and had anchored in Baker's Bay within Cape Disappointment. For the Nor'Westers on board, this completed a tiring passage of seven and a half months from England.

On board the *Racoon* preparations had been made for 'a grand attack' on the Americans at Astoria. About 80 men with marines were to land from three armed boats and take the post either by surprise at daybreak or under the ship's fire. The fort was some ten miles from the *Racoon's* anchorage, and the cutter was sent to find its exact location and examine the river entrance.

Within the now British fort the arrival of any warship was bound to cause great excitement and much concern. The *Essex* was known to be still at large, and the Canadian fur traders in control at the Columbia River mouth lived in fear of American attack. Because the colours of the vessel in Baker's Bay were unrecognizable from the fort, the Nor'Westers prepared to abandon the fort should the warship prove to be American. At 1 p.m., a party left the post in a canoe to determine if the man-of-war was British. When the canoe did not return by 5 p.m., the traders on shore loaded most of their packs, arms and ammunition into canoes to retreat to a more secure position up the river. Not until 9 p.m., and after having consumed a vast quantity of Tenerife wine, did the canoe party return from the British sloop and allay the anxiety of their comrades on shore.

The next day Captain William Black of the *Racoon* examined the intricate approach to Astoria, which lay upriver some ten miles from the anchorage. The entrance was seldom attempted by sailing ships during the winter season, but Black had a copy of Lieutenant W. R. Broughton's chart of 1792 showing the area, and he planned to enter by the southern channel of the river. Strong winds and treacherous tides made this impossible. Finally, on 12 December he reached shore with a

midshipman, four seamen and four marines in the fur traders' coastal vessel *Dolly*.

It is well known that Black was not impressed with what he saw the next morning. He is reported to have said in disgust: 'Is this the fort about which I have heard so much talking? D--n me, but I'd batter it down in two hours with a four pounder!' McDonald was similarly unimpressed with the place: 'To our utter disappointment, we found only a few stores and barracks surrounded by a few imperfect stockades with two or three swivels mounted near the gate. The place was not fit to resist any thing but savages.' The Nor'Westers were soon to change this; and by 1815 a strong fort stood on the site, consisting of a picket stockade with two bastions, each mounting eight small guns and several swivel guns.

Black conducted the ceremony of British control with as much pomp and circumstance as possible. The fort saluted him with seven guns. The Nor'Westers raised the Union Jack given them by the captain. Then, with the sailors manning the guns, and the marines and Company men parading with muskets, Black broke a bottle of Madeira on the flagstaff, claimed the fort and country for the King, and named the post Fort George in honour of His Majesty. The assembled drank to the health of the King, and as Alexander Henry recorded in his journal 'Then the ceremony ended by taking a few extra glasses of wine.'

Black visited the remains of Lewis and Clark's winter headquarters of 1805-6, Fort Clatsop, and on return to his ship sent this report dated 15 December 1813, as deciphered, to the Admiralty:

> Agreeable to order from Captain Hillyar, I succeeded entering Columbia River, in his Majesty's sloop *Racoon*, November 30th 1813, found party of North West Company here, who had made arrangements with the American party before my arrival.
>
> Country and fort I have taken possession of in name and for British Majesty; latter I have named Fort George and left in possession and charge North West Company.
>
> Enemy's party quite broke up; they have no settlement whatever on this river or coast.
>
> Enemy's vessels said on coast and about islands; while provisions last, shall endeavour to destroy them . . .
>
> Left *Phoebe* and *Cherub*, longitude 82° 20' W, latitude 4° 335', well; consort, parted from squadron before reaching Cape Horn, not yet arrived. Natives appear well-disposed towards English.

The arrival of the *Racoon* and the ceremony of possession established British military control at Fort George. And Black's formal act gave added credence to the North West Company's ownership of the post. Yet a question often posed, and still unanswered owing to conflicting and sparse evidence, is why did the Nor'-Westers purchase the post from the Astorians when the naval force was known to be on its way?

One view was expressed by Francis Phillips, a clerk on board the *Racoon*. He wrote that

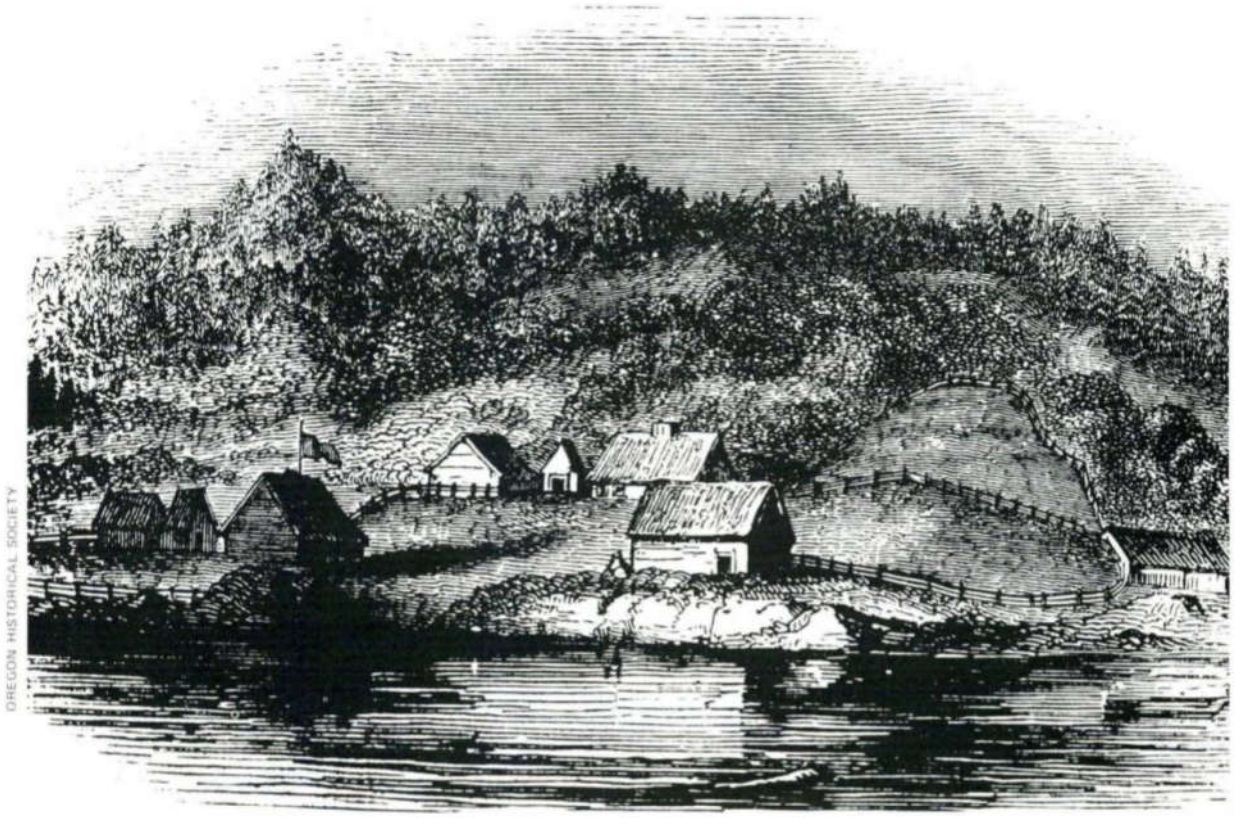
> our grand attack and expectations were totally frustrated, that the Americans (who by the bye were the best part of them Scotchmen) hereing that the British Government intended to send a force to take the settlement in the Name of the King and establish it under the firm of North West Company, which Company had petitioned to Government for the express purpose, that the said American party, well knowing our near approach and that they must inevitably quit the settlement and lose all their property, very knowingly sold the whole of it (for a trifle which to be sure was better than nothing) to the North West Company who had a long while been contending with them for the same. This piece of business of buying the settlement of an Enemy's people (by which the North West Company by no means acted proper after petitioning to Government for a force to be sent to take the place, plant the British Flag, and establish it under their firm) in my opinion to all intents and purposes is diametrically opposite to the fundimental laws of great Britian under the head of assisting an Enemy, which purchasing the property and establishment of these people who were on the point of abandoning the whole on the approach of the Racoon clearly shows their proceeding illegal.

Another view generally held by persons there, but based on much hearsay evidence and without documentary proof, is that Captain Black thought the Nor'-Westers and Astorians conspired against him in order to defraud him and his crew of the prize money. Washington Irving wrote of this in his *Astoria*. But McDonald recalled later, as a counter to Irving, that he had 'heard of no expectation of prize money, nor disappointment in any respect. The force was sent to fulfil a duty to the North-West Company; It was no government measure. They were as it were under my directions as a Partner of that Company, and acted accordingly.'

Yet almost certainly, it seems, an animosity developed between the sailors and the fur traders at Astoria over the principles and spoils of war. And it had a long-range effect. This confused beginning of British control at the mouth of the Columbia tended to complicate the British diplomatic position during peace proposals and afterwards.

On board the *Racoon*, meantime, the appearance of the dreaded scurvy and the lack of sufficient provisions forced Black to sail from the Columbia River much earlier than the fur traders judged to be in their best interests. Wildfowl and salmon delivered to the *Racoon* by the Indians and paid for by the North West Company were welcome on board but they were insufficient and Black, deeply concerned for the welfare of his ship's company, intended setting a course first for San Francisco where he hoped to find provisions. Then he would sail in search of American fur-trading vessels known to winter in the Sandwich Islands.

The departure of the *Racoon* from the Columbia on New Year's Eve meant that until the *Isaac Todd* arrived with means of defence — and many must have doubted if indeed she would arrive — the British post would have to stand alone should an American warship arrive. At least one Nor'Wester thought that Black should sail directly for the Sandwich Islands to capture 'the whole nest' of wintering American vessels, one of which the British fur traders would buy for their use on the Northwest Coast. Black, however, explained that he could not sell them a ship because unless a prize was condemned by an Admiralty court it was subject to



OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Fort George (formerly Astoria) as it was in 1839.

recapture by other warships and he intended, therefore, to destroy any prizes. Here, again, was a decision indicating that Black was, as Admiral Dixon advised the Admiralty, an able and zealous officer, fulfilling his duties in difficult circumstances.

But what happened to the *Isaac Todd*? By April 1814 she still had not arrived at the mouth of the Columbia. Many at Fort George presumed that either she had fallen prey to the *Essex* or had become a total loss after separating from the squadron in late July 1813. Yet they still held high hopes that she would reach Oregon and thus alleviate the precarious position of the British, made increasingly so by war-like preparations of the Chinook Indians. Actually, the slow-sailing *Isaac Todd* was at Monterey, California, when her captain learned that the *Racoon* had lost her false keel in crossing the bar of the Columbia outward bound and somewhat miraculously had reached the Spanish port of San Francisco. When naval stores and assistance there were insufficient, Black and his officers considered abandoning the *Racoon* and returning to England via Mexico. Then the *Isaac Todd*, 'sent as by the works of our maker' joined the *Racoon* at San Francisco Bay with the necessary stores and help. At Angel Island, the *Racoon* was careened and repairs effected. Then the two ships parted company. The *Racoon* sailed for the Sandwich Islands on 19 January in search of American warships and fur-trading vessels; the *Isaac Todd* finally reached the mouth of the Columbia on 23 April 1814, thirteen weary months after leaving Porstmouth! Her arrival ensured the preservation of British interests at Fort George during wartime. Later she completed the 'golden round' by sailing to Canton with furs and then returning to England with a lading of tea on account for the East India Company.

By this time, the Nor'Westers had sent a second vessel, the schooner *Columbia*, from England bound for the Northwest Coast. Again, a ship of the Royal Navy, this time H.M.S. *Laurel*, provided convoy support as far as Rio de Janeiro. The *Columbia* arrived at Fort George in July 1814. Annually thereafter until 1821, Company ships brought supplies and took away furs for the China market. The Nor'Westers had established their 'Columbia Enterprise' and had done so while the War of 1812 had made great demands on the Royal Navy in various places on the high seas. British seaborne trade and Canadian commerce had again felt the benefits of British naval supremacy. ◆

Whaling in Hudson Bay

BY W. GILLIES ROSS

Part III – 1892-97

THE VOYAGES OF THE 'PERSEVERANCE'

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY attempted in 1866-67 to oppose the American whalers in Hudson Bay by sending the *Ocean Nymph* north in competition, but the venture failed to achieve its objective. After this unsuccessful voyage the Company did not entirely neglect the possibility of exploiting the arctic resources north of Churchill. In 1882 it resumed the coastal trading voyages terminated in 1790, employing two boats to cruise each summer as far as Marble Island, trading at several Eskimo encampments en route. The principal returns of the trade were the furs and skins of arctic fox, caribou, musk-ox and arctic hare, of which more than 2,000 were collected in the summer of 1884. These annual voyages extended the range of the Company's direct trade approximately to Chesterfield Inlet, overlapping slightly the region in which American whalers were active. When the Americans wintered in the northern part of the whaling grounds an appreciable Eskimo trade might remain near Marble Island for the Company's boats in summer, but when the whalers wintered in the south the Company's trade was bound to suffer, as the following letter from Churchill to London reported in 1892:

> The returns from Marble Island this summer are not near so good as last season, owing to an American ship wintring at that place and trading the furs etc from the Eskimo, that we otherwise would have obtained.

Boats sailing north from Churchill for a couple of months each summer could do little to compete with vessels wintering among the Eskimo, so in January 1892 the Company decided to send the 179-ton whaling barque *Perseverance* on a whaling and trading voyage to Roes Welcome Sound with orders to remain over the winter.

The *Perseverance* sailed from Peterhead, Scotland, on 20 June 1892 under Captain Alexander Murray, and was on the Hudson Bay whaling grounds by 10 August. On the fifteenth the Captain recorded in the ship's logbook

> saw a boat full of Esquimauxs Comming off to the ship from some small Islands on the North side of Wager river there was five men & there wifes & children I shipped & sent them away ashore for there tents dogs & all there Geer. I took one of our boats & went with them to get them on board quick then steered for Cape Fridget.

One of the results of American whaling since 1860 had been the introduction of whaleboats to the Eskimos near Roes Welcome Sound. Departing whalers often paid off their native hunters with an old boat, and the Eskimos put them to good use in the shifting of families and gear from one location to another, and in the hunting of whales, walrus, and seals. Ownership of a boat put Eskimos in a good position to obtain further employment with the whalers, as Captain Murray's eagerness to get the group on board at Wager Bay illustrates. Another boatload of Eskimos turned up at Repulse Bay a few weeks later and Murray just as quickly 'shipped them to fish for us'.

The ship reached the head of Repulse Bay at ten o'clock on the following evening. Three whaleboats left at six the next morning to cruise for whales while the Captain and some Eskimos hunted ashore, killing two deer and a wolf. Thereafter, the boats cruised daily, departing early in the morning. On 27 August the Captain took two boats to the Ship Harbour Islands, sounded a harbour and its entrance, and two days later shifted the *Perseverance* to this location for wintering.

The 12 September brought the first encouraging results, but not without hard work. Four boats departed from the harbour at seven in the morning, pursued a whale at ten, but missed with the harpoons. At six in the evening they chased another whale, got fast at seven o'clock, put four more harpoons in at eight and made the kill. Five boats towed the whale to the ship, arriving at five the following afternoon. Flensing was commenced immediately and was almost completed before dark.

By the end of September young ice was making swiftly around the Ship Harbour Islands and the whaleboats could no longer operate. Captain Murray turned his attention to the problem of providing enough fresh meat to keep the crew healthy through the winter.

> From the 4th Oct. until the 20th April 1893 there was no boats could get away to look for whale. So I sent all the natives away Deer Hunting & to bring there Deer to the ship so every other few day[s] there was sledges comming down to the ship with Deer for us.

The terse entries in the ship's logbook reveal something of the firm character of this Scottish whaling captain. They suggest a quality of decisiveness and authority which was evidently lacking in the two previous Company whaling attempts. Alex Murray was a product of the Davis Strait whale fishery and knew well the need to keep a firm hand, act swiftly and capably, and utilize every available moment during the short navigation season. Aside from the quality of leadership this voyage differed from the earlier Company ventures

in its utilization of Eskimo labour. It had become standard practice among whaling masters to employ Eskimo whaling crews and to rely heavily on Eskimo hunters for a supply of fur clothes and fresh meat during the winter. Unlike the *Ocean Nymph* in 1867, the *Perseverance* was not troubled by scurvy.

Seven months of winter passed before whaling could be resumed. In the third week of April six boats were moved by dog sled across fifteen miles of bay ice to the edge of open water. Three crews remained on watch there while Murray and three boats worked south towards Whale Point, 150 miles away, through heavy, drifting pack. In attempting to cross the mouth of Wager Bay the boats were carried twenty miles up the inlet by ice moving in with the tide. The men hauled the boats out on the land-fast ice and made camp, but were unable to launch the boats again for a week. Then they returned to the floe edge at Repulse Bay and sledded back to the ship. This open boat voyage through ice-filled waters, although unsuccessful, testifies to Murray's energy and determination.

Undeterred, Murray sent the mates off two days later to try again for Whale Point, and ordered other boats to explore Frozen Strait. He put Eskimo women to work sewing sleeping bags for the whaling crews, hired another native crew to work for the ship, and then embarked by boat on a trip down the Welcome. In twenty-five days he travelled to Depot Island and back, hauling out each night to camp on the land-fast ice, stopping from time to time to collect eggs or hunt caribou, picking up Eskimo trade whenever possible, checking up on the progress of the other crews, and keeping alert for whaling opportunities. On 12 July Murray arrived back at Repulse Bay after a voyage of about 500 miles. The crews there had seen only two whales and had taken a small one of two-foot nine-inch bone.

During the second half of July the Repulse Bay ice deteriorated rapidly and the floe-edge crews had to return to the vessel. On 4 August the logbook reported 'Ice all broken up in the harbour & bay the ice is going about 4 knots out of the harbour.' For the first time in ten months the ship swung to an anchor, responding to the motion of the waves, free at last from the tenacious, restrictive grip of the ice.

The tanks were topped up with pond water, and on 13 August the *Perseverance* weighed anchor, sailed to

After the 'Perseverance' had ended the monopoly of American whalers in Hudson Bay, the Scottish steam whaler 'Active', shown here, made annual voyages into the Bay. She was commanded by Alexander and John Murray, both former masters of the 'Perseverance'.

DUNDEE CORPORATION ART GALLERIES & MUSEUMS

MAJOR J. D. MOODIE, R.N.W.M.P. – BRITISH MUSEUM

Eskimo women made and mended clothing for the whaling crews and in return received trade goods, including beads with which they decorated their costumes.

Whale Point to load blubber obtained earlier by the boat crews, and cruised unsuccessfully for whales during the better part of two weeks. Captain Murray discharged the natives at Whale Point on 7 September and started home, arriving in Peterhead on 21 October 1893.

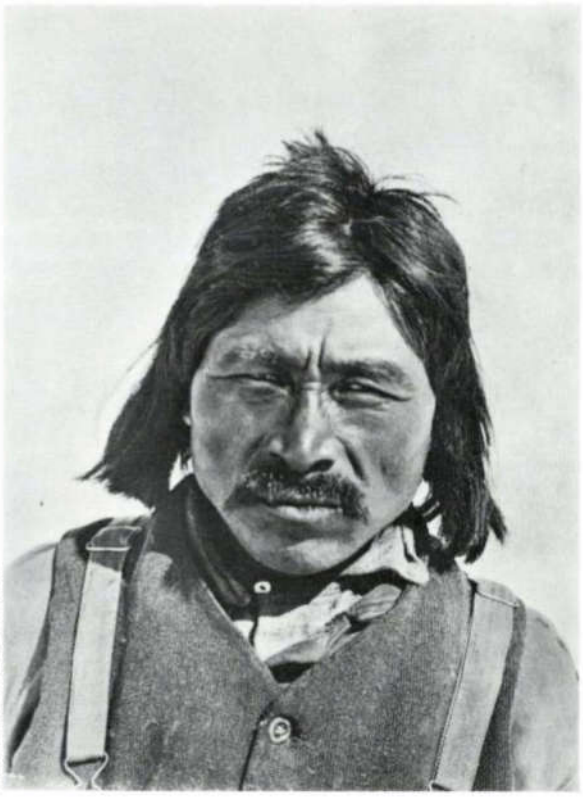
The voyage had been reasonably successful. Three whales had yielded a quantity of whalebone and from fifteen to eighteen tons of oil. Another five or six tons of oil had been secured from seals. More than 300 skins, mostly of caribou, seals, and musk-oxen, had been obtained in trade. In addition, Murray had left two fully equipped whaleboats and additional lines and harpoons with the Eskimos to pursue whales on behalf of the vessel until its return.

In 1894, the *Perseverance* came out again from Scotland arriving at Whale Point on 18 August. The American whalers *Canton* and *A.R. Tucker* had wintered at Depot Island and were putting the final touches to successful voyages, having taken about seven whales, yielding 315 barrels of oil and 9,500 pounds of bone. Captain Fisher of the *Canton* came on board on 8 September to collect outgoing letters, then the two ships set sail for New Bedford, Massachusetts. The *Perseverance* would be the only whaler wintering in the vast expanse of Hudson Bay.

After erecting a hut at Whale Point for the storage of whale products and gear, Captain Murray took the vessel 'to the NW of Depot Island & dropped an anchor in a bight of the mainland.' Eskimos were sent off fishing and preparations were begun for winter. The vessel was firmly frozen in and banked all round with snow by 20 November, following which the crew built a carpenter's house on the ice and covered it with spare sails and blocks of snow. On the last day of the year they decorated it for dancing and celebrated New Year's Eve in suitable fashion. The Eskimos were entertained again the following day at a long-awaited feast on board.

Throughout the winter an Eskimo encampment remained near the ship. Numbers fluctuated as the men left to hunt seals, walrus, and musk-oxen, and later returned with their catch. From time to time they held spiritualistic meetings to enquire into the causes of poor hunting or other calamities. On these occasions taboos were in force. On 6 April Murray recorded 'No natives sealing to day they killed the devil last night, third time this winter.' The routine of life was interrupted occasionally by death. In January an Eskimo baby of twenty days died: 'the carpenter made a box for the child the father took it onshore and buried it with stones.' One of the ship's harpooners, aged 58, died in March and was interred in similar fashion on Depot Island. There were

Eskimo whalemen were outfitted with work clothing and given English names. "Scotty", a whaleman and leader among the Kinipetu Eskimos, was photographed at Fullerton, 1903-04.



PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

times of hunger too, and times of extreme cold; the thermometer registered -58° F on 3 February.

Spring whaling commenced on 30 April. A total of seven whaleboats operated along the floe edge between Depot Island and Whale Point. On 11 July the *Perseverance* blasted her way out of harbour ice to resume cruising in Roes Welcome Sound.

In most respects the voyage of the *Perseverance* in 1894-95 resembled those of the majority of American whalers in Hudson Bay at this time. Alexander Murray had imitated their technique of wintering and of employing Eskimo hunters, whalemen, and Eskimo-owned whaleboats. In spring whaling he had adopted the usual method of launching boats from floe-edge camps, but had greatly extended the range of cruising, carrying out some remarkable open-boat voyages early in the season. In one respect he far surpassed the achievements of the American whalemen. Murray brought his wife along on the voyage, the first non-Eskimo woman to winter in the Canadian Eastern Arctic, and on 4 June 1895 she set another record by giving birth to a baby son on board ship near Depot Island. The unfortunate child was given the name Perseverance Murray.

One of the drawbacks of Hudson Bay whaling was the necessity to return to home port after wintering to deliver produce, replenish supplies, and exchange or refresh crew members. The homeward voyage meant missing a winter's trade and the whaling opportunities in spring. Some whaling masters arranged for Eskimos to hunt under contract during the absence of the vessel, and a few extended the duration of their voyages and spend two successive winters in the Bay. Another alternative existed for Hudson's Bay Company whalers, namely to operate out of a trading post in Hudson Bay. This routine was adopted by the *Perseverance*. On 10 August Murray left six boats whaling, sailed to Churchill, landed eighteen casks of oil and thirty-three of blubber, and transferred to the supply steamer three-quarters of a ton of whalebone, 100 pounds of walrus ivory, and the skins of thirty-two musk-oxen, thirty-eight fox, twenty-three polar bear, nine wolves, and one wolverine. He put the Mate, three sailors, Mrs Murray and her infant son on board for London, and took on crew replacements and provisions for the coming winter. Murray sent instructions to London as to the supplies he would require in the following summer, and added, 'you will have to send out a whole crew next time with the *Erik* & also a master as I would not think of stoping more than another year.'

The *Perseverance* headed back for the whaling grounds on 26 August, passed Marble Island, spoke the *A.R. Tucker* and put outbound mail on board, and started cruising for whales. But on 5 September, it was 'blowing a Hurricane from the ENE with a very heavy sea. I am afraid if it keeps for twenty-four Hours longer we will be on the rocks.' On the sixth the logbook reported

> ship running up Chesterfield Inlet got about fifteen miles inside before we could get Anchorage, dropt the port anchor but the chain parted with 60 fathoms out let go the starboard anchor & thank God it took hold, ship riding with 75 fathoms of cable on the one Anchor . . . Still blowing as hard as ever.

On the next day: 'Wind decreasing . . . the natives wants to get ashore they are all frightened & no wonder.' The situation improved gradually and the ship shifted to a better anchorage.

Captain Murray had intended to choose a new winter harbour, not being fully satisfied with Depot Island. 'Well where we wintered last year is no place for a fall fishing we never got one whole day good weather that boats could go out to look for whales but the whales dont come close inshore here the same as Repulse Bay'. After fetching up in Chesterfield Inlet, with winter approaching, he elected to remain there. Boats were sent out to spread the news to Eskimos and the whaleboat crews in the Welcome, and by 6 October everyone had arrived at the vessel.

By 18 November ice was solid around the ship, but it broke up three days later and carried the vessel farther up the Inlet, causing some alarm on board. 'Crew employed riggin a tent on the Island & putting in stores in case the ship goes on the rocks at the stream tides so we can take refuge on the Island landed one boat on the Island.' No further mishaps occurred, however, and the vessel was firmly frozen in by 9 December.

Operating in open sailing boats, whaling crews made long journeys while their vessels were still held fast by harbour ice. These were photographed off Southampton Island, 1903-04.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

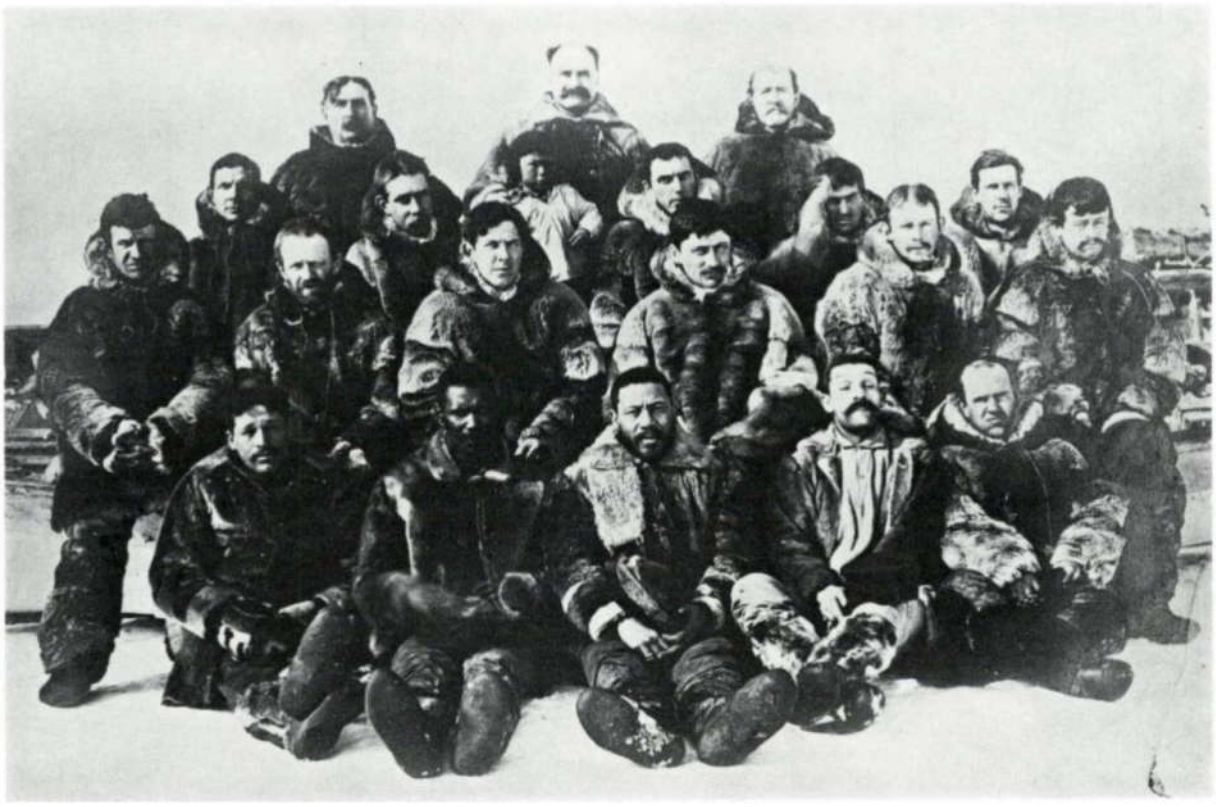
About fifty miles away the *A.R. Tucker* was wintering at Depot Island, and fifty miles farther east the *Era* and *Canton* were frozen in at Cape Fullerton. As the long arctic night settled upon the whaling vessels a certain amount of inter-ship visiting developed across the wind-swept expanses separating the vessels. A sailor from Depot Island arrived at Chesterfield Inlet with some Eskimos on 10 December. On the following day Captain Murray travelled to Depot Island to visit Captain West, then stayed four days and paid a visit to the grave of Andrew Milne, the harpooner who had died in March. The mates of the *Era* and *Canton* arrived at Depot Island a week before Christmas.

Such visiting was mainly limited to ships' captains, mates, carpenters, and coopers – the steerage personnel. For the seamen the close confines, discomfort and isolation of shipboard life could become unbearable during the dark, piercing cold of winter. Dormant discontent could stir into life. Complaints about the food were commonplace. There were cases of disobedience. The *Canton* logbook recorded thefts of provisions. Scurvy broke out at Cape Fullerton and one man died. Personal animosities flared. In a forecastle fight on the *A.R. Tucker* a sailor named Mahoney plunged a sheath knife beneath the shoulder blades of William Dugan and almost killed the man.

The only certain relief from shipboard tensions was escape, but where was one to go? On 10 December four men deserted from the *Canton* and struck off for the United States. Travelling on foot with one Eskimo dog, they intended to take shelter on the *A.R. Tucker* at Depot Island, continue on to the *Perseverance* in Chesterfield Inlet, and then head for Churchill and points south. Without dog-teams such a trip was virtually impossible, and the men did not get far. The Mate of the *Canton* overtook them eight miles short of Depot Island, sent one man back to the vessel and escorted the remaining three to the *A.R. Tucker* for the night. In the morning they started back for Cape Fullerton but were hit by a blizzard with only twelve miles to go, and wisely spent the night in a snow-house. They started for the ship the next morning, but high winds and drifting snow continued to obscure the visibility and the men became separated. The Mate arrived in the afternoon and the two others straggled in later, but the third man never arrived. The ship's logbook wasted little conjecture as to his fate: 'The man is probably frozen to death'.

In early April the crew of the *Perseverance* prepared the whaleboats and gear. Boats began cruising from the floe edge on 10 May but they had no success in whaling. The ship broke out of harbour ice in early July, transported the Eskimo women and children with their

Crew of the whaler 'Era' with Captain George Comer at Marble Island around 1900.



NEW BEDFORD WHALING MUSEUM

NEW BEDFORD WHALING MUSEUM

The family of an Eskimo whaleman, photographed inside their snow house by Captain George Comer, c. 1900.

dogs and belongings to Whale Point, and then cruised with difficulty in the ice-filled waters of southern Roes Welcome Sound until August before sailing south to Churchill. On the thirteenth the *Perseverance* hauled alongside the steamer *Erik*, another whaling voyage completed.

At Churchill Alexander Murray relinquished command to his younger brother John, who had been on two of the Hudson Bay voyages. A fresh crew came on board from the *Erik*, supplies were transferred, and the *Perseverance* headed north on her last whaling voyage in Hudson Bay.

Five American whalers were cruising in the Welcome. Murray put some outgoing mail on board the *A.R. Tucker*, soon to leave for New Bedford, landed stores at Whale Point for the next spring's whaling, and proceeded north for Repulse Bay. Just beyond Wager Bay the captain

> sighted 3 boats coming off and a vessel ashore on a reef, it proved to be *Desdemona* of New Bedford, Capt. Millard, she ran on the reef yesterday 1.30 p.m. took crew on board, put my 2nd Mate and natives on shore to try & get some fishing gear out of the wreck, run back toward Whale Point.

Fortunately the *Perseverance* caught the *A.R. Tucker* boiling out her last whale before leaving the whaling grounds and was able to put the shipwrecked crew on board, avoiding the problem of feeding twenty-three extra mouths for the next year. Fourteen men were in turn allocated to the *Era*, also bound home. Then the *Perseverance* resumed her voyage northward, stopping at the wreck to pick up the Mate and his Eskimo salvage crew. They had failed to save anything of real value, although tobacco and bread were to turn up in Eskimo caches through the winter. The wreck was covered at high tide, making salvage difficult, and the Mate's determination appears to have been undermined by demon rum: 'the D-d fool had found a few cans of pop-corn and then sat down on the beach beside a small keg of rum to watch the natives did not get at it – did not have sense enough to empty the d-d stuff into the sea Thus a vessel fitted out for a two years cruise – all lost.'

At Repulse Bay the *Perseverance* dropped anchor near the whaler *Platina*, recently arrived from New Bedford, and commenced whaleboat operations. Within a week one of the native crews had met with disaster:

> bad news arrived today by one of the boats that left yesterday, the other boat capsized and four lives lost 3 children and an old woman, and the boat lost and all it fishing gear and 2 rifles the other part of the crew were picked of the boats bottom.

Fall whaling continued until 1 October, when young ice put an end to boat operations. Whaling equipment was cleaned and stowed and the usual preparations were made for the long winter. Eskimos went inland to hunt

BURWASH EXPEDITION

Granddaughter of a whaleman and Eskimo woman at Depot Island, 1926.

caribou and returned in small groups in December to build snow-houses near the vessels and begin sealing and walrus hunting.

Three decades of whaling had broken down the traditional barriers between Eskimo groups. The opportunities for employment and trade had attracted Netchillirmiut from Boothia Peninsula, and Kinipetu from Chesterfield Inlet, to the shore of Roes Welcome Sound, formerly the exclusive home territory of the Aivillirmiut. The whalemen perceived the diverse origins and customs, not all of which were pleasant:

> one of my natives hung himself a few days after I left to go down to the place the *Desdemona* was wrecked he had been sick a very short time. he was almost compelled to hang himself, his brothers rigged the rope up through the roof of the hut, so all he had to do was to put the noose round his neck. his father hung himself when this vessel was wintering here before. it is the custom for the Nechilling natives to hang themselves when they get very sick, not so with the other two tribes.

Normally relationships were harmonious among the different groups on the whaling grounds, but an event which occurred in the spring of 1897 came close to disrupting this state of affairs. As Murray described it,

> 3 boats left here for Beach Point to bring the natives up here to the islands, when the boats were nearing Beach Point, a few white whales were seen, and the natives in the Mates [boat] got their guns ready to shoot, one of them a young Kenapatoo native let his gun go off by accident, the bullet went through both legs of one native, completely smashed the bones at the knee joints, entered another natives thigh, they landed the native which had his legs broke, but none of the others would go near him.

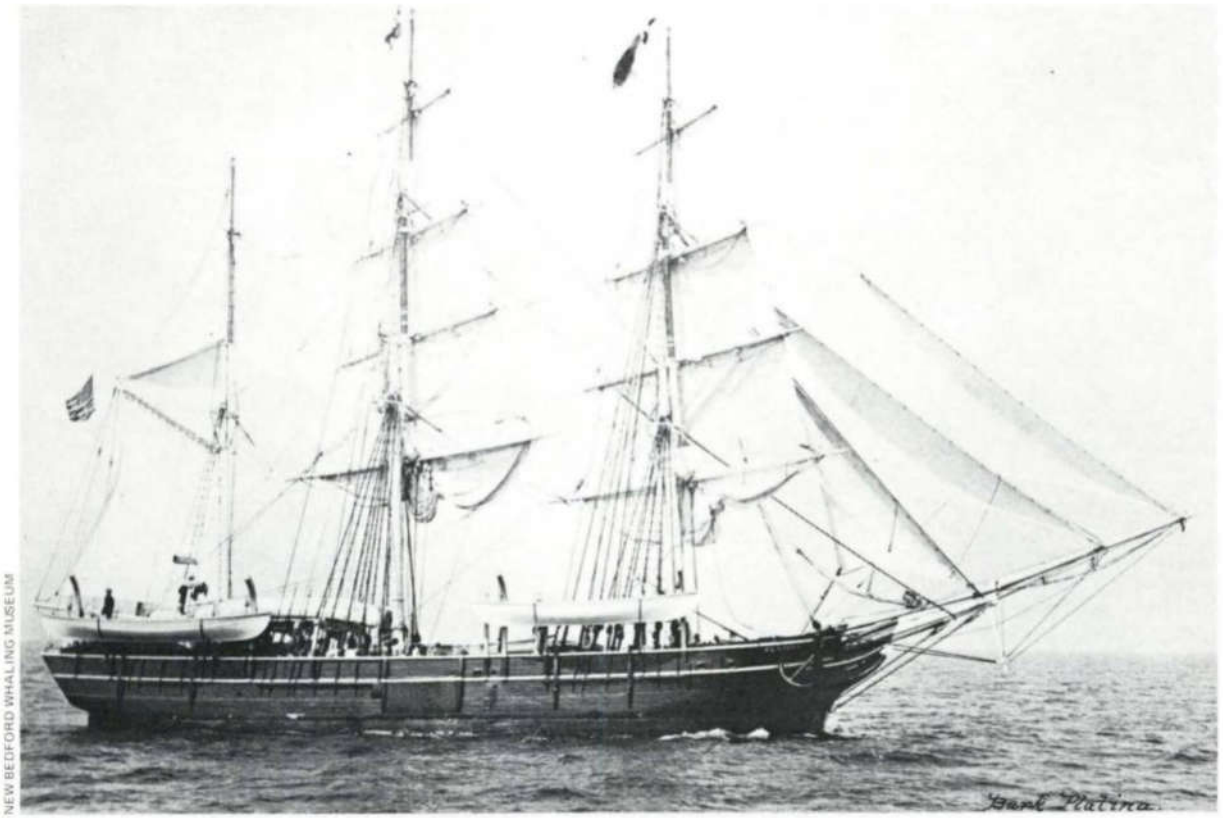
The man, an Aivillik Eskimo, died the same day. Tension developed between the two groups but there were no serious repercussions, the Eskimos showing a restraint which may be partly attributed to contact with whites. A blood feud could easily have destroyed their important economic relationship with the whalers.

The winter community at the Ship Harbour Islands in Repulse Bay was large and multiracial. When the *Platina* gave a Christmas dinner and dance 200 Eskimos were present, from at least three distinct groups or subcultures. The crews of the two whalers, one American and the other British, numbered about thirty-five and included men of diverse nationalities and origins. Socially and economically Eskimos and whalemen had developed a symbiotic relationship that transcended the boundaries of region or race.

Migrating birds and caribou in mid-April were welcome signs of approaching summer. Boats were fitted out and sledded to the floe edge, but pack ice hindered their operations through May and June. Murray tried twice to reach Whale Point but failed to get as far as Wager Bay, and attempts to sail through Frozen Strait were unsuccessful. Not until mid-August could boats operate safely in Repulse Bay and the northern part of the Welcome. Murray penetrated Frozen Strait and worked into Duke of York Bay, observing 'Deer plentiful on the land every sort of animal which inhabits this country except the Black whale & Narwhale we have seen none.'

During the remainder of the summer of 1896 whaling was intense in Repulse Bay. A third whaler, the *Francis Allyn*, had arrived and added its boats to the already impressive fleet. On 6 September 'a whale was seen and in a very short time there were no less than 17 boats after it, 2 schooners, 5 *Platina*, 10 *Perseverance*.' Despite this heavy pressure on the dwindling whale population, only three kills were made, one a large whale of eleven-foot bone, taken by the *Perseverance*, one a calf taken by the *Platina*, and the other a whale 'so small that it is hardly a whale'. Captain Murray later observed to Captain Inglis of the Hudson's Bay Company, 'We have seen a great number of Whales this season but they were very restless and would not bear to be approached by our boats.' One can scarcely blame them. The whalemen spared neither cows, calves nor suckers in their search for oil and baleen, and the species was already approaching extinction.

The *Perseverance* departed from Repulse Bay on 13 September, bound for Scotland. She cleared Hudson Strait on 1 October, passed Rockall on the eighteenth, and arrived at Peterhead about the 24th. Five whaleboats and whaling equipment had been left with the Eskimos, but this must have been as payment for services already rendered, as goodwill, or both, for the *Perseverance* was not to return to Hudson Bay.



NEW BEDFORD WHALING MUSEUM

The 'Platina' from New Bedford.

The voyages of the *Perseverance* from 1892 to 1897 revealed to the Hudson's Bay Company the nature and the potential of resource exploitation in northwestern Hudson Bay. Four decades of indiscriminate hunting had reduced the stock of bowhead whales to the point where yields seldom justified the cost of outfitting the vessels. Throughout the world whaling was declining as substitutes were found for illuminating oil. On the other hand, the possibility of profiting from Eskimo trade remained. Whalemen had turned increasingly to the exploitation of furs and skins but their voyages were becoming less and less frequent. They had demonstrated that the Eskimos north of the zone of Indian-Eskimo tension were not hostile. In almost forty years of whaling no serious incidents had occurred, and the natives had smoothed over inter-tribal jealousies in order to obtain the material and social benefits of intercourse with the whaling vessels. The dispersal of their small encampments over a vast area, which had previously been a significant barrier to any commercial connections, had been offset by the presence of wintering whalers and the Eskimos were by this time accustomed to concentrating seasonally in settlements at the coast. Furthermore, the whalers had demonstrated that sailing vessels could reach Roes Welcome Sound with reasonable regularity; steamers would be much more dependable. An annual supply ship could thus provide the materials and provisions essential for the contruction and maintenance of trading posts in the barren area north of the tree line.

Was it knowledge or intuition about future Company policy which prompted Alex Milne at Churchill to include the following advice in his instructions to John Murray of the *Perseverance* on 15 August 1896? 'If it is at all likely to assist you in retaining the good will of the natives or in securing furs etc you can let them know that the Company is most likely in the future to have a station amongst them.' While the promise of arctic posts had been held out to the Eskimos north of Churchill before, during the whaling voyage of the *Ocean Nymph* in 1866-67, the situation was now different. Whaling was on its way out and the Hudson's Bay Company's system of trading posts was on the way in. Little more than a decade after the return of the *Perseverance* the Company would found a post at Wolstenholme (1909) and then establish Lake Harbour (1911), Chesterfield Inlet (1911), Cape Dorset (1913), Stupart Bay and Frobisher Bay (1914), Baker Lake and Port Burwell (1916), Coats Island and Repulse Bay (1919), and Port Harrison (1920). Indirectly at least, the voyages of the *Perseverance* paved the way for the Hudson's Bay Company's systematic expansion into the Canadian Arctic for the extensive exploitation of wildlife resources, a process which had far-reaching consequences for the Eskimo population. ◆

NORTHERN BOOKS

BY SECTION, TOWNSHIP AND RANGE
Studies in Prairie Settlement

By John Langton Tyman. Assiniboine Historical Society, Brandon, Manitoba, 1972. 250 pages illus., $7.50

Reviewed by John Maurice

The Prairies have a way of adopting partisans into a comfortable loyalty. If they can ignore seasonal fluctuations, farmers will glory in the accomplishments of their soil. They will recite their yield of fat potatoes, or their bushels and bushels of grain or rich turnips, and somehow sum up their situation by proclaiming that they couldn't imagine a more fruitful place on the earth. In this same way, Professor Tyman demonstrates himself a loyal son of Manitoba, however transplanted he may be, and his work glows with the easy readability of romantic literature.

This volume is a slight revision of his doctoral thesis of the University of Oxford. The thesis takes upon a much more academic and technical tone and the revision in the present work, published through the auspices of the Assiniboine Historical Society, caters more to the general audience of amateur historians, as well as to scholars. As such, it will prove a valuable sourcebook for the historical geography of Western Canada, and especially Western Manitoba. And as a successor to past works on the land policies in the Canadian West, students and historians will find much significant data. Chester Martin's *'Dominion Lands' Policy* is still the classic work for the whole of Western Canada, but Professor Tyman's methodology tests many of Martin's generalizations in the unique idiosyncrasies of Western Manitoba. Through the use of the Keydex system of information retrieval, a systematic analysis of isolated sections and townships was possible, and thus Professor Tyman utilizes a much more inclusive approach than possible in such predecessors as *The Canadian Frontiers of Settlement* series. The collection of statistical tables and graphs, the analytical charts and maps are quite comprehensible and clearly organized. A much more interesting contribution to the format, however, is the selection of fascinating old photographs and advertisements from the period. The prose in the sections dealing with the history of the period is infectiously readable, but less so in the technical sections, which of a peculiar necessity to geography and science, seem dry.

Professor Tyman is probably the first to do such specialized research in Western Canadian land disposition, encompassing more than just the government land policy, and for this work, he deserves commendation. Especially intriguing are his comments on such important land companies as the Canada North West Land Company and the Scottish, Ontario and Manitoba Land Company. His comparative analysis of the roles of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the Hudson's Bay Company regarding land policy is accurate and revealing.

However, the area chosen for examination is rather limited, and obvious questions to the application of any conclusions for Western Manitoba to the whole of the Canadian West, especially to the Fertile Belt, are inevitable. On one level, perhaps, the data seem too minute and introverted, and the scholar is sure to wonder how the synthesis of any suppositions for single sections, townships or districts would apply to the perspective of the whole of Western Canada. I hesitate to be too harsh, however, since so much of Canadian history is dedicated to this type of narrow regionalism and its microscopic view.

The sections dealing with the land policy of the Hudson's Bay Company are perhaps the vaguest in the work and this is due to the limited amount of research that has been done in this subject. Professor Tyman has not clearly defined, for example, the role of the Hudson's Bay Company in the surrender of its chartered territory. On page 11, he speaks of the demise of the Company. This expression is overstated in that the Company did not die nor did it relinquish all of its estate. Strictly speaking, the H B C was not required to surrender its territory; the Deed of Surrender was achieved through negotiation. In addition, a false impression is given about the lands retained by the H B C. Briefly, the Company was entitled to one-twentieth of the Fertile Belt, in addition to 50,000 acres around its posts. Professor Tyman seems to contradict himself later, on page 27, when he states, 'In its Deed of Surrender the Hudson's Bay Company was awarded more than just a few trading posts.'

The Hudson's Bay Company remained influential in Western Canadian history after 1870, not only in the continuance of its fur trade, but in the development of a new commercial enterprise, the creation of a system of steamship transportation, the supplying of the North West Mounted Police and the Department of Indian Affairs, and most importantly, in its role in establishing a new landed estate in Western Canada. This latter role involved it in constant negotiations with the Dominion Government over policy and issues. In addition the Hudson's Bay Company co-operated with other landed companies such as the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Canada North West Land Company in establishing townsites, locating branch railway lines and stations, and supporting churches, schools and other benevolent institutions by the grant of free or subsidized sites.

Finally, one last correction; officially the Land Department of the Hudson's Bay Company was organized as a separate entity from the fur trade in 1874 with the appointment of Donald A. Smith as Land Commissioner, although Smith's extravagant procrastination hindered its development.

The price of $7.50 is a bit expensive for the average reader, which is a pity, but the variety of material and photographs make the volume seem less exorbitant. For anyone interested in the history of Manitoba or in the development of the Canadian West, Professor Tyman's efforts will provide the general reader with a clear picture of prairie settlement and enlightenment towards the often complex problem of land policy.

John Maurice is reading for his Ph.D. in history at Queen Mary College, London.

ONE WOMAN'S ARCTIC

By Sheila Burnford, McClelland & Stewart, Toronto, 1973. 214 pages. $6.95.

Reviewed by Frederica Knight

Sheila Burnford went to Pond Inlet 'just to be there', and in her warm, capable style recorded her impressions of the way of life on Baffin Island, including the sights, sounds, and smells which she encountered during two consecutive summers. She has produced from her diaries a narrative which presents an accurate and readable picture in words of an arctic hamlet of our times, the surrounding countryside, and the people who live there. Mrs Burnford proved to be highly adaptable to conditions, and obviously enjoyed and appreciated the entire experience, taking the country and its people to her heart. She is skilful at communicating her feelings, and there should be many among her readers who will wish they could follow her example.

The author devotes a great deal of space to describing the appearance and habits of the various birds, which are indeed fascinating in their variety. Life in the Arctic is more complete for those who appreciate the wild creatures that inhabit the 'barrens', and render the appellation incorrect; the land teems with life. She describes the animals and flowers in masterly detail, and here again communicates her joy in nature's contributions to her pleasure.

One Woman's Arctic does not include detailed personality studies of the Eskimos whom the author met, and with whom she travelled, but the character traits that have served them so well throughout their staunch battle for existence – adaptability and helpfulness, gentleness and tolerance, philosophical good humour – all shine through. Their way of life is well presented, with the contrast of her observations of Frobisher Bay to remind us that the comparatively idyllic existence at Pond Inlet is becoming the exception rather than the rule. Like all who have seen the two sides of northern living, Mrs Burnford feels deep concern about the unfortunate physical and psychological effects on the land and its people being produced by the juggernaut (for want of a better term) of civilization. But she expresses her conviction, and probably correctly, that the Eskimos, experts at survival, will eventually work out their own salvation.

It was a little surprising to find Mrs Burnford perpetuating the myth of 'six months of total darkness' in a reference to Resolute Bay; otherwise, her research seems to have been well done.

Archaeology is currently much in the news, and the Arctic is fertile ground for the serious students of this science. Father Guy Mary-Rousellière is well known among arctic archaeologists, and Mrs Burnford gives an interesting account from the layman's point of view, of his work. Her vivid description of travel by dog-team presents an experience which becomes rarer each year with the adoption of the snowmobile by the Eskimos. The history of the area, the description of children and their games, and the experience of camping at the floe edge – even the colourful description of the remains of last year's blubber and the dog turds on view in their icy frames, all add life and authenticity to the author's reminiscences. Her book will bring to her readers pleasant entertainment, and to many of them a good measure of nostalgia.

For twenty years Frederica Knight lived in Eskimo settlements in the Eastern and Central Arctic.

NOTICIAS DE NUTKA: AN ACCOUNT OF NOOTKA SOUND IN 1792

By José Mariano Moziño; translated and edited by Iris Higbie Wilson. McClelland and Stewart Limited, Toronto, 1970. 142 pp., illus. $10.00.

Reviewed by Frederic V. Grunfeld

Nootka Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, was first visited by Europeans in 1774, when the Mexican-based Spanish frigate *Santiago* anchored offshore and was greeted by a party of canoes bearing some 150 astonished Indians. 'The sight of this ship first filled the natives with terror' writes the naturalist Jose Moziño. 'They were seized with fright from the moment they saw on the horizon the giant 'machine' which little by little approached their coasts. They believed that Qua-utz [their founding deity] was coming to make a second visit'. Only the most daring members of the tribe paddled out to examine this ocean-borne monster, but they soon realized that the visitors were men, not gods, and willing enough to engage in the exchange of trinkets for sea-otter pelts.

Four years later Captain Cook entered Nootka Sound to anchor in the harbour he called Friendly Cove (as it is still known); it was the crews of his *Resolution* and *Discovery* who first made the discovery that otter skins bought from the Indians for trinkets could be sold for a hundred dollars apiece in Canton. As a result, Nootka suddenly acquired a commercial and political importance out of all proportion to the size of its population, which then numbered about 2,000. Both the British and the Spanish had reason to consider it part of their American empire, and a violent confrontation over the issue was only narrowly averted.

From 1789 to 1791 the Spanish maintained an outpost at Nootka, and at the same time devoted considerable effort to mapping and exploring the region. The most prominent of the scientists sent from Mexico to make observations at Nootka was the botanist Moziño, who spent more than four months at Friendly Cove classifying the flora and fauna according to the Linnaean system. More important, he made extensive notes on what he had seen and heard of the Indians' way of life – 'the various customs of the natives, their religion, and their system of government. I believe that I am the first person who has been able to gather such information, and this was because I learned their language sufficiently to converse with them.'

His report, entitled *Noticias de Nutka* (Notes on Nootka) was submitted to the Viceroy of Mexico in 1793, but owing to the political upheavals of the Napoleonic era, his work remained in manuscript until the beginning of the twentieth century. Iris Higbie Wilson, associate

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professor of history at the University of San Diego, has now produced a highly readable English translation of this very important document; it is an uncommonly stylish piece of work as translations go, and copiously annotated with information about the anthropological significance of Moziño's record, as seen in the light of more recent studies by specialists like Frances Densmore and Philip Drucker. Professor Wilson's introduction also provides an extensive historical account of Moziño's mission and his subsequent misadventures: he went to Spain, was exiled with the pro-French faction, saw his scientific papers dispersed, and died, unappreciated, in Barcelona at the age of sixty-two.

For students of Northwest Coast history, this is an indispensable book, for Moziño was intelligent, well educated and above all, a sympathetic observer of Indian folkways at a time when the impact of European values was just beginning to make itself felt. He admired the marvellous flexibility of a way of life ideally suited to the Indians' environment: their habit of moving the boards (but not the skeletons) of their houses to new fishing areas; their custom of taking new names to mark the successive stages of a man's life; their elastic calendar, computed according to the abundance of the month in question; and their potlatching performances, which were still tribal festivals rather than the destructive orgies they were to become in the nineteenth century, when commerce had upset the traditional status patterns of the coast.

There are some very revealing asides, as when one of the *taises* (chiefs) hears the foreign sailors sing their ballads and folksongs, and exclaims 'Don't the Spanish or English have a God, since they celebrate only fornication and drunkenness? The *taises* of Nootka sing only to praise Qua-utz and ask for his help.' But it turns out that the *taises* do attend the rather profane pantomime performances given by the commoners in the tribe, 'the most lascivious that one can imagine' though as aristocrats they take care 'not to mingle their voices in the obscene songs.' Moziño had an ear for Indian music and poetry, which he found exemplary, but no eye at all for their painting, which he thought 'very crude'. Indeed, it was not until the 'Northwest school' of painting and sculpture had become extinct that it was recognized as having a place among the great artistic traditions of the world. But Moziño did realize, if only dimly, that the coming of the Europeans was a tragedy for the Indians, even on the most basic human level. 'Many of our officers went alone and without arms to visit a number of villages, conducted in the savages' own canoes. They always returned impressed by the affection and gentleness they had observed in everyone. What a pity that they could not in general say the same about us. The sailors, either as a result of their almost brutal upbringing or because they envied the humane treatment the commandant and other officers always gave the natives, insulted them at various times, crippled some and wounded others, and did not fail to kill several. Humanity is the greatest characteristic of civilization. All the sciences and arts have no value if they serve only to make us cruel and haughty.'

Frederic V. Grunfeld is an editor of 'Horizon' Magazine and has written extensively on cultural history, particularly primitive art and music.

THE LIFE OF THE FAR NORTH

By Wm. A. Fuller and John C. Holmes, McGraw Hill Book Company, Toronto, 1972. 232 pages, illus. $4.95.

Reviewed by Clarence Tillenius

There are in this fine book two pictures which, set side by side, portray graphically the two faces of the Arctic: on one hand, a land of breathtaking beauty; on the other, life in its grimmest rawest reality.

On page 8 is a charming landscape of serene summer beauty – the Peace River country of the North: on page 195 is a picture to leave the spectator shuddering in horror – a caribou calf almost devoured alive by that malignant scourge of the northern summer, the ravenous mosquito horde. Eyes, mouth, and nostrils have almost disappeared under the clustering blood-suckers. It is a miracle that any animal can survive.

The co-authors, Drs W. A. Fuller and John C. Holmes, are with the Department of Zoology, University of Alberta; both have travelled widely in the lands that ring the High Arctic. Under Dr Fuller's guidance, I was privileged to wander among the Dall sheep in what is now Kluane National Park.

It is difficult to conjure up a more delightful beginning than the manner in which the book opens. 'Canoe travel is easy on the Peace River, a broad expanse of sparkling water that winds its way northeastward across the province of Alberta in western Canada.' For one actually to go on the journey described in the ensuing pages, is an experience that most people will only dream about. This book must surely be the next best thing.

The lavish use of excellent photographs gives visible form to the authors' lively descriptions of the plant, mammal, and bird life that share with the micro-organisms the marvellously interwoven northern ecology.

It is in a book of this kind that the reader is made aware of the curious anomaly of arctic life. Here on one hand is a web of life that has survived the ages, adapting itself with incredible inventiveness to some of the harshest environment the world can offer. Yet the arctic ecology is a fragile thing. Man can destroy it. Indeed, he has made long strides in this direction.

Surely the reader of this book, made suddenly mindful of what may here be lost, will take a moment to think and then to echo the authors' pleas: 'For all creatures that live there, the far north is a perilous habitat; yet down through the centuries, most arctic animals have managed to survive and even flourish in their harsh environment. In historic times, however, human interference has become a real threat to the survival of many species. As early as 1768, explorers already had killed off the last of the world's Steller's sea cows. By the turn of this century, Alaska fur seals and northern sea otters also had been practically exterminated for the sale of their pelts, while whalers were all but eliminating several species of whales from arctic waters.'

But though the picture is not all gloom for the future of the Arctic – steps are and have been taken to remedy some of the obvious abuses – let no one be complacent. The wilderness that stirs the imagination can only exist by a continuing battle to preserve that wilderness for generations yet unborn.

Clarence Tillenius is well known for his paintings, sketches, and museum dioramas that portray Canadian animals in their natural habitat.

ERRATUM

In the Summer issue 1973, page 19, it was stated that the Reverend George McDougall died in 1875. This should have read 1876, the day of his funeral being 10 February 1876.

IN A SACRED MANNER WE LIVE

Photographs by Edward S. Curtis. Introduction and commentary by Don D. Fowler. Barre Publishers, Barre, Massachusetts, 1972. 152 pp., $15.00.

Reviewed by Dr E. S. Rogers

The volume, *In A Sacred Manner We Live*, is a collection of 147 photographs taken by Edward S. Curtis during the first part of the present century and here assembled by Don D. Fowler. He has arranged the photographs by geographical areas, each set forming a separate section of the book. The sections consist of the following: Plains, Southwest, Plateau, Desert West, North and Central California, Northwest Coast, and Eskimo Area. Accompanying the photographs is an introductory chapter and at the beginning of each section a short commentary by Fowler giving background information regarding the native inhabitants. In the introductory section, Fowler sketches the life and work of Edward S. Curtis. At the end he has prepared bibliographical notes which are quite useful.

Curtis became interested in the native people of Western North America around 1900 and determined to make a photographic record before the native people were completely inundated by western expansion. He was successful in his endeavours, eventually publishing 20 folios, containing over 2,200 photographs and a volume of text for each folio describing the native people, entitled *The North American Indian*. That Curtis was free and able to carry out this task was in large measure due to the support he received from President Theodore Roosevelt and J. Pierpont Morgan.

It is fortunate that Don Fowler has prepared this volume since Curtis's photographs are now exceedingly rare and expensive. The selection here is an opportunity for a much wider audience to view them. And they certainly deserve a wider recognition. Only one other recent volume, to this reviewer's knowledge, has been prepared utilizing some of Curtis's photographs and that is *To Touch The Earth* by Terry McLuhan. Don Fowler's commentaries beginning each section are most welcome since they help place the photographs in their proper perspective. Two minor points regarding the commentaries might be made. It is mentioned on page 12 that Chief Joseph escaped to Canada. In fact he was captured just before he was to cross the border. The Chipewyan, mentioned on page 19, did not abandon earth lodges; they never had any nor did they become Plains horsemen. These comments, however, are not meant to detract from the value of the work. All in all, it is a welcome addition to the growing literature about the native people of North America.

Dr Rogers is Curator, Department of Ethnology, Royal Ontario Museum.

NATURE CANADA

A quarterly publication of the Canadian Nature Federation, 46 Elgin Street, Ottawa, K1P 5K6. Regular membership $6.00.

Reviewed by Robert W. Nero

The April-June 1973 issue of *Nature Canada* is a good example of the quality and scope of this new periodical. The front cover is a lush view of showy Lady's-slipper plants in bloom, not just a close-up of the pendulous flower, but whole plants, a rich offering from some remote bog. Though slightly marred by scratches (on the negative?) the effect is fine. Contrast this near view of a small subject with the back-cover panoramic view of a great waterfall in British Columbia — one can feel the mist and hear the roar.

From seventeen to twenty colour photographs, as good or better than the cover, appear inside the issue. Several run full page and are exceptional: wild horses deep in a sand dune on Sable Island, and a Nova Scotia brick cottage above a great marsh.

The Canadian Nature Federation is a national non-profit organization that developed out of the Canadian Audubon Society in 1971. *Nature Canada* is the new organization's parallel to *Audubon Magazine*, long familiar as a lavish publication with a strong interest in national and international environmental matters. *Nature Canada* has so far more than surpassed our expectations. From coast to coast, near cities and in remote regions, matters of concern to all of us are being brought to our attention with clear and informative style.

Environmental issues, however, are regarded as a secondary objective of the magazine. The primary objective, as stated by Dr Theodore Mosquin, the editor, is 'to show the intrinsic value and beauty of the natural world.' Inspired paintings and drawings of nature subjects by aspiring as well as established Canadian artists, photos to delight the eye, fine articles by gifted nature writers such as Louise de Kiriline Lawrence and Russell J. Rutter provide the balance needed to make this magazine meet its objectives.

Each issue of *Nature Canada* includes about twenty pages (on different stock and looking almost like tear-out sheets) of a more informal nature. This whole section, which appears at the back of each issue, is the least attractive section of the magazine, but it provides last-minute news, notices, and reviews, thus helping to keep members of the Canadian Nature Federation aware of their role as participants.

Dr Nero, biologist and ornithologist, has written numerous booklets and articles on the wildlife and natural history of Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

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